

TR'ONDĚK-KLONDIKE WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATION 2.0

*SUPPORTING RESEARCH ON
OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE AND
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: DEFINING
EXPERIENCES OF COLONIALISM, TIME
FRAME AND GEO-CULTURAL REGION*

Prepared by: Lisa Prosper
Brittney Anne Bos (ERA Architects)

Prepared for: Debbie Nagano
Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in
World Heritage Project Manager

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I. INTRODUCTORY CONTEXT

I. a. Introductory Context – Introduction

To set the context for the report, this section identifies the work undertaken to date with respect to the development of a new Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination and identifies the scope and objectives of this report. It also includes a short discussion on serial sites within the World Heritage context and a brief analysis on putting Tr'ondëk-Klondike forward as a serial site. Finally, this section includes a preliminary articulation of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experiences of colonialism organised into four experiences: changing relationships to land, changes in traditional land use and practices, adaptation to capitalist economic system and adaptation to socio-cultural and governance structures. This content is found in the accompanying excel document entitled *Evidence and Attributes*, which forms the foundation for the subsequent sections of the report.

I. b. Introductory Context – Background

Tr'ondëk-Klondike was first put forward for nomination to the World Heritage List in 2016. However, considering the findings of the advisory bodies' review of the nomination and their recommendation 'not to recommend for listing', the State Party withdrew the nomination on behalf of the Project Management Committee for the Tr'ondëk-Klondike World Heritage Nomination. This withdrawal allowed the Project Management Committee the opportunity to regroup and reconsider an alternative framing of the property that would meet with a more favourable recommendation from the advisory body.

In preparation for a new nomination of Tr'ondëk-Klondike to the World Heritage List, an expert review and evaluation of the site was undertaken by Dr. Anita Smith in August 2018. Her report proposed that the property be put forward for nomination as a serial site under Criterion (iv) and that its focus be "Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in responses to Euro-American colonization from the 19th and early 20th century." In keeping with this recommendation, in May 2019, the Project Management Committee submitted a revised Tr'ondëk-Klondike concept proposal to ICOMOS International for review as part of their advisory process. The final report from this process, released in October 2019, made the following recommendations:

- That the temporal and geo-cultural frameworks be resolved and clearly justified to direct the comparisons;
- That the specific colonisation history of the Gold Rush is important and particular and should be considered in the framing of the proposal and the comparative analysis;
- That the histories and evidence of the sites be honestly appraised in the development of the OUV;
- That the OUV reflects a greater presence of Indigenous 'voice' and recognizes the agency and adaptation of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

In November 2019, the Project Management Committee met with site experts to discuss the findings of the ICOMOS International review and more specifically, evaluate the potential of the major serial components of the property to demonstrate Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experiences of colonialism. It was decided at this time to include Black City as one of the sites of the serial nomination.

I. c. Introductory Context – Scope and Objective

The scope and objective of this report is to address some of the issues raised by ICOMOS International in their review of October 2019. Namely, to undertake research and analysis to strengthen and focus the OUV and to support the development of a framework for the comparative analysis. Specific areas to be addressed by this report include:

- Illustration of how the different sites of the property are related;
- Address how the different sites contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value;
- Identify attributes of authenticity at each site that support the OUV;
- Research and provide rationale for the time frame and geo-cultural region of the property;
- Pay specific attention to Gold Rushes and the Yukon Region in these rationales;
- And research and review relevant reports by the advisory body and regional and thematic expert meetings.

The authors consulted all pertinent and available material and reports developed in support of the new Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination. Nomination documents of relevant World Heritage Sites were also consulted as were all reports associated with ICOMOS thematic studies and regional and expert meeting reports. Reviews were undertaken of the World Heritage List to identify serial sites and possible sites for comparison with Tr'ondëk-Klondike. World Heritage tentative lists were also reviewed for the same purpose. A review of Canada's Historic Places Register was undertaken to identify possible Canadian sites for comparison.

I. d. Introductory Context – Serial Site

According to paragraphs 137-139 of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of World Heritage Convention:

Serial properties will include two or more component parts related by clearly defined links:

- a) Component parts should reflect cultural, social or functional links over time that provide, where relevant, landscape, ecological, evolutionary or habitat connectivity.*
- b) Each component part should contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of the property as a whole in a substantial, scientific, readily defined and discernible way, and may include, inter alia, intangible attributes. The resulting Outstanding Universal Value should be easily understood and communicated.*

c) Consistently, and in order to avoid an excessive fragmentation of component parts, the process of nomination of the property, including the selection of the component parts, should take fully into account the overall manageability and coherence of the property (see paragraph 114).

and provided the series as a whole—and not necessarily its individual component parts – is of Outstanding Universal Value

In contrast to single site designations, serial sites have the potential to simultaneously emphasize several interrelated histories and perspectives and to highlight complex historical themes and dynamics that may not otherwise be evident in single sites. These dynamics include trading and migration patterns, social and cultural exchange, and the nature of colonial expansion and associated settlement patterns. Existing serial sites on the World Heritage List include a vast array of designations, from groupings of small sites in the same geographical area, to massive site collections across international boundaries.

The establishment of colonial institutions and governance structures in the Americas, Australia, Africa and parts of Asia is the theme of numerous single-site designations on the World Heritage List. Each of these sites represents an outstanding example of a colonial institution (church, military, planning) created or imposed on different lands with distinct intentions, goals and ideologies. The Outstanding Universal Value of these sites is rooted in the formation of institutions in a new place and prioritizes the “founders” viewpoints. Occasionally, the perspectives of Indigenous peoples are added to the designation, but often as an addendum to the broader colonial narrative. Some serial sites related to the establishment of colonial institutions include local or Indigenous narratives, encompassing themes of loss, displacement, violence, etc., while a few occasionally weave Indigenous perspectives throughout the narrative. The focus, however, typically remains on the creation of colonial institutions and their related mechanisms (Western economies, arrival of settlers, etc.).

A broader consideration of “colonial experiences” (occasionally from a limited Indigenous perspective) is only partially captured in the existing World Heritage List. In particular, some serial sites within the last couple of decades attest to the implementation of colonial systems and even include multiple viewpoints. However, the adaptation of the traditional movement of Indigenous peoples within their ancestral lands as a response to their experiences of colonialism is not adequately addressed in the current designations. Displacement is a central theme of many current sites connected with colonialism; however, continuously inhabited spaces with peoples who adapt with colonialism, as evidenced in the Tr’ondëk-Klondike serial site, is not a prevalent theme in existing serial site designations.

The sites included in the serial nomination of Tr’ondëk-Klondike have been selected because they are each tangibly related to the Outstanding Universal Value of the property. The Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in response to the arrival and settlement of outsiders manifested itself differently at each site because of the reasons for their arrival, the level of intensity of their arrival and the time of their arrival vis-à-vis the exposure of the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in to outsiders. The

Outstanding Universal Value of the property lies in the ability of the sites to demonstrate the fullness of the experience of colonialism during the time frame of the nomination. Importantly, the serial site designation of the Tr'ondëk-Klondike underlines the significance of prioritizing an Indigenous lens while recognizing major events in colonial histories. It is possible to represent a colonial viewpoint for the founding of the Yukon through a single site, as evidenced in many other designations currently on the World Heritage List. However, it is impossible to capture the myriad number and breadth of these viewpoints and their consequences without the inclusion of varied sites that recognize the complexity of experiences with colonialism.

The sites included in the serial nomination of Tr'ondëk-Klondike speak to a multiplicity of experiences of colonialism within a geographically and historically defined space. Since every site illustrates a different facet of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experience of colonialism, any single site cannot be removed without compromising the integrity of the property as a whole. Conceptually, the various sites form spokes emanating from a central node that is the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experience of colonialism, with each spoke representing a distinct piece of the complete story. The text of most designations of serial sites on the World Heritage List advocates that removing a single site jeopardizes the entire narrative and detracts from the Outstanding Universal Value. However, a large number of serial site nominations also argue that individual sites in the series cannot stand alone, as their multifaceted contributions cannot be understood in isolation from the other sites. For many contemporary serial nominations, the Outstanding Universal Value of the comprehensive series and all of its parts imbues the individual sites with importance. In the case of Tr'ondëk-Klondike, individual sites within the serial nomination do not meet the criteria for Outstanding Universal Value on their own. Each site depends on the others to collectively demonstrate the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experience of colonialism, as well as to shape the Outstanding Universal Value of Tr'ondëk-Klondike. This corresponds with most contemporary serial designations on the World Heritage List; their Outstanding Universal Value lies in the importance of the grouping as a whole.

The proposed individual sites that make up the Tr'ondëk-Klondike serial designation are all located in Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in ancestral territory and along important traditional routes. These routes are present in the physical/natural sense, including the Yukon River and its valley, as well as other riverways, mountain passes and pathways between the different sites. The physical relationship between the individual sites of a serial property forms an integral part of nearly every rationale for existing World Heritage Sites, even when the route itself is not part of the designation. In the case of Tr'ondëk-Klondike, the routes between the proposed individual sites are part of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in ancestral journeys and patterns of movement on the land.

Each site in the serial nomination has a strong connection with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, whose ancestral lands cover the entire space of the Tr'ondëk-Klondike property. The commonly employed First Nations concept of "territory" (particularly within the Canadian context) refers to the geographical extent of a group's inhabitation, but it also includes relationships with the land, such as cultural, spiritual and a strong responsibility of stewardship of land, flora and fauna. This traditional territory is imbued with multiple and overlapping meanings that connect contemporary people with their ancestors. Activities performed during any period in time are

linked with previous and future activities of the same space through the land itself. A serial site nomination, with multiple sites existing within the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in traditional territory, inherently recognizes the importance of these ancestral connections and situates the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in perspective. The presence of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in is confirmed by archaeological evidence, documentary evidence including oral histories, photographs and historical documents, and physical evidence including built structures and natural features at each site in the nominated property.

I. e. Introductory Context – Evidence and Attributes

Please see the accompanying document entitled *Evidence and Attributes*.

II. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE YUKON

The purpose of this section is to briefly outline some of the principal events in the Yukon that occurred during the relevant time frame of the nomination and to situate the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experiences of colonialism. International and national trends are also briefly introduced; however, many of these events are examined in much greater detail in subsequent sections of this report.

For thousands of years, a variety of Indigenous peoples occupied ancestral territories in the present-day Yukon. An array of cultures belonging to different language groups engaged in trade, exchange, collective use of land and kinship relations. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, part of the Hän language group, have inhabited the nomination area for at least 9 000 years and since time immemorial according to Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in elders. Before the arrival of non-Indigenous people to their ancestral territory, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in travelled throughout present-day Yukon and Alaska following the seasonal rounds of the fish, wildlife and plants of the region, as well as to connect with and visit other people inside and outside their kinship networks. Although they travelled between sites, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were a semi-nomadic culture as they frequently returned to the same harvesting camps and established seasonal settlements.

By the late eighteenth-century, Indigenous people located along and near the Pacific coast began a trading relationship with a growing number of Europeans. These individuals, who mainly originated from Russia, Spain and Britain, were primarily interested in the northern territories for their fur trading potential. Gradually, as the demand for furs rose and companies solidified their presence in the north, the expanse of networks required to sustain European-Indigenous trading moved inland along major river and lake systems. Many Indigenous groups, particularly those in the central Yukon, had no direct contact with Europeans before the 1840s, but they began trading for European goods with Indigenous traders earlier. Cultural adaptations to the fur trading economy and the gradual arrival of European goods to the interior foreshadowed the larger scale transformations to come in the final decades of the nineteenth-century.

One of the first semi-permanent markers of the European/American economy within Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in ancestral territory was Fort Reliance, established in 1874 for the Alaska Commercial Company. The post, located across from Nuclaco, a Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in fishing encampment, was occupied intermittently until 1886, but its construction introduced a new period in the history of the area: the arrival and year-round settlement of non-Indigenous people in the ancestral territory of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, which resulted in the disruption of many components of Indigenous traditional land use.

The discovery of gold in the central Yukon sharply accelerated the arrival of non-Indigenous outsiders to Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in territory and the nature and degree of their interaction. The first significant “rush” was to the area of the Fortymile and Yukon Rivers, a traditional Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in harvesting and encampment site (Ch'ëdähchëk kek'it), which became the first non-

Indigenous permanent settlement in the Yukon. The discovery of gold along the Fortymile River prompted many prospectors already in the northern territories to move their operations to the confluence of the Yukon and Fortymile Rivers. As a result, the post at Fort Reliance was effectively abandoned and moved to Forty Mile. News of the initial gold discovery spread slowly, but the number of outsiders steadily increased throughout the 1880s. The townsite of Forty Mile grew accordingly, eventually reaching a population of 600 at its peak in 1893. Broader national interest in the region was growing and by the early 1890s both the Anglican Church missionaries and the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) had arrived in the area, the former to minister to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in (establishing a mission and school) and the latter, as the sole government presence in the region, to collect customs and royalties on goods and gold crossing the newly identified border with Alaska and maintain law and order. The presence of newcomers in the region had an enormous impact on the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in who were adapting to antithetical notions of land use, sovereign nations and borders; entirely new economic systems and spiritual institutions; and external governance systems without any reciprocal recognition of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in ancestral rights within their own land.

In 1896, a "Discovery Claim" at Rabbit Creek (later Bonanza Creek) was registered at Forty Mile and the Klondike Gold Rush was set in motion, largely centred around present-day Dawson City. Miners already in the region quickly re-located to the gold fields and to Tr'ochëk, an ancestral fishing site of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, conveniently situated near the goldfields at the confluence of the Klondike and Yukon Rivers. The miners moved into the settlement of Tr'ochëk, and called it Klondike City (for a while nicknamed Lousetown), displaced the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, who chose to relocate to a piece of land just across the mouth of the Klondike River so they could continue to access their traditional fishing site. However, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's stay on that plot of land was temporary: only a couple of months after their move from Tr'ochëk, they were informed that the piece of land to which they had relocated was previously set aside as a government reserve for the new NWMP detachment. Negotiations between Chief Isaac, the Anglican Church and Ottawa were held to determine yet another location for them to occupy and it resulted in their move to Moosehide.

At the same time, land values were skyrocketing and the demand for lots from outsiders was constantly increasing. Aided by advances in communication technology, once the ice broke and the first wealthy prospectors travelled out of the region, word of the gold discovery travelled relatively quickly throughout North America and thousands of newcomers ventured north. Taking into account the economic recession of the 1890s, the prospect of gold attracted many adventure-seeking people of the working and middle classes who wanted to "strike it rich." People in a variety of service industries soon joined the mass migration north, recognizing inherent potential in fast-growing Dawson City. The stampede to the Yukon very quickly reached its peak in 1898, a mere two years after the original discovery.

The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experienced tremendous upheaval during the couple of years associated with the Klondike Gold Rush. They were displaced from their ancestral sites at Ch'ëdähchëk kek'it and Tr'ochëk and forced to negotiate with distant government authorities in Ottawa for a move to Moosehide, also an ancestral site approximately 5 km down river from

Tr'ochëk, which would become their first permanent settlement. Over time, they were cut off from traditional harvesting sites; fish and game stocks were either depleted or driven further away due to habitat destruction; and they faced the increasing challenge of sustaining their traditional way of living closely with the land, while also participating in (and being exempted from) the wage economy.

Meanwhile, the government of the Dominion of Canada, intent on preserving national unity and resource control, was carefully monitoring the activities of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in the north. Before 1898, the Yukon was within the jurisdiction of the North-West Territories: an expansive swath of varied geography comprised of northern regions in eastern Canada and then stretching from western Manitoba to the border of British Columbia, including all of the way north to the Arctic. Largely due to increased economic interest in the northern territories and partially as a response to a large influx of American prospectors in the region, the Yukon territory became a separate administrative unit in the growing Dominion of Canada in 1898. The Territorial Act granted the Yukon a separate Territorial Commissioner and government Council. Although its affairs were still directed from afar, the establishment of a local government enabled administrators of the Yukon to pass laws, police residents, regulate the mining industry, protect Canada's economic interests and provide surveillance for the Dominion government. The formalization of these interests in Dawson in the form of a concerted building campaign that resulted in the construction of six public buildings over a two-year period signalled increasing disenfranchisement of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in from their homeland, and set the gameboard for their interaction with the state over the next century.

The explosion of interest in the Klondike area immediately following the discovery of gold was short-lived. When Dawson City was incorporated in 1902 the population had already plummeted. Notable government and religious structures, such as the Administrative Building, Courthouse and St Paul's Anglican Church, were under construction when most of the temporary Gold Rush residents left. Many individual prospectors sold their stakes to corporations or simply abandoned unproductive claims. Although the population had significantly dropped by 1905, mining operations around Dawson continued to grow. Large-scale companies consolidated individual stakes and began importing new technologies to complete massive dredges. As mining in the region expanded, administrative, government and social structures also became more firmly established.

III. TIME FRAME PARAMETERS OF THE PROPERTY – 1874-1908

III. a. Time Frame Parameters – Introduction

The proposed time frame for the nomination, 1874-1908, was a period of profound change for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and their ancestral territory in the west-central Yukon. Over the course of only 30 years, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in faced a significant disruption to their traditional way of life and relationship with their territory. These changes began in 1874 and accelerated quickly until reaching a monumental peak at the turn of the century. By 1908, the systems of colonialism were firmly rooted in place and the lives and lands of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were altered forever.

The following section demonstrates the importance of the time frame parameters for the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination and justifies the selection of these dates. It also begins to situate the nomination within broader cultural and economic trends around the world, which is continued in subsequent sections of this report.

III. b. Time Frame Parameters – 1874

Fort Reliance was established in 1874 by traders working for the Alaska Commercial Company to acquire furs but also to supply prospectors engaged in searching for gold. Formed shortly after the American purchase of Alaska in 1867, this company invested in many avenues of northern trade and retail commerce. The company established various trading posts throughout the northern frontier and even penetrated into Canadian territory. For many Indigenous people of the area, including the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, trading posts were their first sustained contact with outsiders.

The arrival of a colonial presence on Indigenous lands was accelerating around the world at this time. “New Imperialism,” characterized by land acquisition primarily for economic exploitation, was spreading to new areas and redefining the nature of colonial relationships. In 1874, Britain was solidifying control of Egypt, Fiji and South Africa, while the United States would finalize a treaty with Hawaii the following year.

The relationship between the Dominion of Canada and Indigenous peoples within its borders was also profoundly shifting. Following the Red River Resistance (1869-1870), the Dominion undertook numerous measures to quell further challenges, including the establishment of the North West Mounted Police in 1873. The “numbered treaties” were being negotiated across the west and the first iteration of the Indian Act was passed in 1876. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, as Indigenous peoples in the broadly defined “North-West Territories”, were included in many of these sweeping legislative measures. However, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not immediately impacted due to their distance from administrative centres and the lack of a permanent colonial presence in the north. Nonetheless, with legislative mechanisms in place to implement

the system of colonialism throughout the Dominion, it was only a matter of time before domestic control reached the Yukon.

For the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the establishment of Fort Reliance had been the first semi-permanent incursion on their ancestral territories from non-Indigenous people. Although the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had participated in the fur trade industry for a few decades, their territories were not occupied consistently by outsiders. Therefore, 1874 is a key moment in the history of colonialism for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in as it signaled a new era of increased interaction and adaptation. The layout of Fort Reliance, with both European-style and Indigenous dwellings, speaks to the early interactions between outsiders and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. The presence of European goods in traditional Indigenous dwellings shows that the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were adapting to the trade economy by using new materials and technologies.

Fort Reliance is located opposite Nuclaco, a site seasonally occupied by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in prior to the arrival of outsiders. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that there was some continuity in use and possibly even semi-permanent inhabitation by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in pre-colonial times. There is also documentary evidence to suggest that the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in advised and encouraged traders to set up their post at this location. Although the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were still using the same place they had traditionally occupied during seasonal rounds, their interaction with ancestral territories changed with the establishment of Fort Reliance. With the arrival of a permanent fur trading post, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in not only began supplying traders with furs for market, but also supplies for their survival. The need to supply a stationary post with provisions, such as meat and fish, meant that some seasonal harvesting rounds were modified, shortened or even abandoned, while a desire for trade goods prompted an increase in trapping activity. These new activities would continue in the Gold Rush era, as the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in engaged in a new economic relationship with their land.

III. c. Time Frame Parameters – 1908

The outer parameter of 1908 is mainly significant for its relationship with local events. However, the early 1900s was also a period of transition around the world. Queen Victoria and other mainstay leaders of the British Empire had recently passed away and were replaced with new leaders with differing ideologies. Social unrest, particularly regarding work conditions and labour disputes, was spreading. The Second Industrial Revolution was coming to a close, as advances in communication and transportation technology took root. The Dominion of Canada was slowly emerging on the world stage and gaining increased control of its own affairs. The administration of Indigenous people was firmly entrenched in Canada's laws and colonial systems, including police and schools, were developing across the Dominion.

Closely related to the administration of the Yukon, the Dominion of Canada and the United States finally resolved a simmering border dispute in 1903. The question of the international boundary, particularly in the "panhandle" area of south eastern Alaska, had been ongoing since the United States purchased it in 1867 (coincidentally the same year Canada became a separate Dominion from Britain). Deadlocked without a clear direction, the international border dispute

was eventually sent to an international tribunal. The deciding vote was held by a British representative who sided with the American faction. The American victory coincided with other imperial gains over the last decade, notably in the Caribbean and East Asia. A couple of years later, United States President Roosevelt added a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: not only was America against European imperialism in the western hemisphere, they were also committed to defending former colonial nations from foreign interference.

Locally, 1908 marked the end of a significant era in the Yukon's history. The surging yet temporary gold rush population had dwindled, leaving in their wake a radically transformed landscape, European-style social structure and capitalist economy. Major architectural landmarks – the Territorial Administrative Buildings, the Courthouse, the Commissioner's Residence, and St Paul's Anglican Church – that signalled the presence of territorial governance were completed in Dawson City. Although the population had significantly dropped after the initial Gold Rush, the non-Indigenous people who remained in the Klondike were intent on establishing a European-style settlement. The development and spread of Edwardian architecture in the Neo-Classical style throughout the town of Dawson speaks to their lofty aspirations in creating a "Paris of the North." Notably, the gold mining industry was now almost exclusively controlled by consolidated companies. In the early years of the new century, individual claims were purchased by corporations who then imported technologies to create large-scale mining operations.

The lives of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were irrevocably changed during this timeframe. Although colonialism would continue to impact the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in profound and irreversible ways, the initial great upheaval was largely finished by 1908. Traditional territories were already marked and changed forever and the seasonal routes were disrupted by the ever-present capitalist economy, which continued to expand with the arrival of corporate mining. The new institutions of church and state (intricately and specially connected in the Yukon) were leaving their mark and systems of colonialism were permanently entrenched in the everyday lives of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, succinctly expressed in the construction of St. Barnabas Church at Moosehide in 1908. Within the short span of 30 years, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had gone from a life "lived close to the land as it had been for thousands of years"¹ to one irreversibly changed by a myriad of transformative experiences due to the arrival of a unique form of colonialism.

¹ Dobrowolsky, Helene. *Hammerstones: A History of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in* (Second Ed). Dawson: Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Publication, 2014.

IV. DEFINING TR'ONDĚK HWĚCH'IN EXPERIENCES OF COLONIALISM

Within a relatively compressed space, the Tr'ondĚk-Klondike site displays a myriad of Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in experiences, interactions and adaptations to colonial systems. The site components reveal how the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in experiences of colonialism and the Klondike Gold Rush were intricately linked to the geography of the Yukon during the period of 1874-1908. The sudden and massive encroachment on their territory in such a short period of time was unprecedented in Canada in the nineteenth-century. A further combination of factors, including the relatively late period of contact and the rush of stampeders to such a small area, magnified the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in experiences of colonialism. The outstanding preservation of numerous sites of contact that capture the full breadth of encounters makes the Tr'ondĚk-Klondike serial site an outstanding example of the experiences of colonialism in the northern regions of the continent.

The following section describes four overarching experiences of colonialism faced by the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in during this period: i) changing relationship to land and traditional territory, ii) modifying traditional land use and practices, iii) adapting to the capitalist economic system and iv) adhering to socio-cultural and governance structures. All of these experiences are related to broader global trends during the same period, but they also speak to specific geo-cultural conditions shaped by the Klondike Gold Rush at the turn of the century.

These four experiences are divided into separate sections for the purposes of clarity and comparison, although they should not be understood in isolation. In fact, each experience of colonialism described within this section is intricately woven among all of the other experiences and converge at every site. For the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in as a group and as individuals, encounters with non-Indigenous people would have been manifested in a variety of interrelated ways. For example, a European-style settlement pattern greatly impacted the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in's use of their ancestral territory and had numerous environmental impacts. However, the presence of a new built form also signaled the introduction of new economic systems, technology and socio-cultural change. While the separation of these experiences is often necessary for organizational purposes, whenever possible these experiences of colonialism should be understood as complexly interwoven.

Before examining these experiences of colonialism in depth, the following section considers the speed at which these changes occurred and how the accelerated arrival of colonialism impacted the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in.

IV. a. Experiences of Colonialism – Speed of Colonial Systems in the Yukon

The systems of colonialism in the Yukon spread very rapidly and the Tr'ondĚk HwĚch'in were quickly subsumed in the overarching and dramatic changes to their ancestral territories. The sudden arrival and widespread implementation of colonial structures, including industrial capitalism and British-style governance, was coupled with a massive population boom of non-Indigenous people who were focused on acquiring wealth for individual prosperity. As a result,

the systems of colonialism experienced by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in are striking due to the rapid pace at which they were established and firmly rooted in this northern territory.

The Yukon was historically isolated from the earlier reaches of colonialism due to its great distance from other population centres and the many difficulties encountered when travelling to the area. The rugged terrain with high peaks and fast-moving rivers, combined with the subarctic climate, had further shielded the territory from outside intrusion for centuries. In the imaginations of many nineteenth-century imperialists and adventure-seekers, the north was the final frontier and an untamed place to be “conquered.” Such beliefs, held by ordinary people and administrators alike, greatly influenced the practices of non-Indigenous people arriving in the territory.

In some ways the systems of colonialism experienced by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were similar to those undergone by other Indigenous groups in Western Canada in the late nineteenth-century. The implementation of surveillance systems, such as the establishment of police forces and the presence of government officials, ensured that local Indigenous people adhered to Canadian and local laws. The imposition of colonial institutions, such as churches and schools, was another method of securing compliance and dismantling traditional ways of life. Legislative measures, such as the Indian Act, created a list of regulations and consequences for disobedience. Many Indigenous bands resisted colonial controls and fought to maintain cultural traditions and social structures, while others refused to leave ancestral territories and their seasonal round camps.

The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's geo-cultural separation had disconnected them from many legislative measures for decades and their early encounters with non-Indigenous people were markedly different from other nineteenth-century colonial relationships in North America in a few key ways, largely due to the Klondike Gold Rush. In particular, the systems of colonialism in the Yukon were carried out at an unprecedented speed for the nineteenth-century. Only two decades after the first sustained European presence in their ancestral territory, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in founded themselves facing fully developed colonial structures and a foreign capitalist industrial economy. In many other parts of western North America, Indigenous people had been exposed to some versions of the capitalist economy for decades or even centuries before colonial officials arrived in earnest. In contrast, a child born in the first year at Fort Reliance was barely reaching maturity when the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were displaced and resettled at Moosehide.

Evidence of the accelerated pace of colonialism is especially apparent in the hurried movement among the different sites of the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination. Non-Indigenous settlements along the Yukon River were abandoned abruptly and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were either disrupted from or dispossessed of ancestral harvest camps multiple times in a short period. The desertion of one site and movement to another, and resulting displacement of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, coincided with Western economic interests in the Yukon. For example, Fort Reliance was abandoned shortly after the discovery of gold around Forty Mile drew prospectors further down the Yukon River. As more outsiders arrived at Forty Mile, the long-time Indigenous fishing

camp and caribou crossing, Ch'édähchëk kek'it, was quickly displaced. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in remained in the settlement at Forty Mile, to some extent, but within a decade it was effectively abandoned by non-Indigenous people when the Klondike Gold Rush began. As Dawson City took shape, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were again dispossessed of their important salmon fishing camp at Tr'ochëk.

IV. b. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land

IV. b. i. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land – Introduction

Non-Indigenous people arriving in the Yukon at the turn of the century had radically different relationships with land than the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. Since the Industrial Revolution, the Western viewpoint of land was changing; people were no longer working with the land to survive, but were using it to extract resources and gain individual wealth. Increased urbanization and the advent of modern technologies also caused many people to have different relationships with the places they lived compared to Western agrarian societies. The capitalist notions of property and ownership of land were also expanding, particularly in colonial contexts where arriving Europeans imposed their ideologies on Indigenous populations. By the late nineteenth-century, securing large swaths of territory for economic purposes was a preoccupation of major world powers, even if there was little interest in European-style “settlement” in these distant lands.

Imperial histories and sites often disregard any Indigenous presence or viewpoints. The Tr'ondëk-Klondike property offers a unique opportunity to frame New Imperialism and changing Western relationships with “land” using an Indigenous lens. For example, the establishment and occupation of Fort Reliance is directly related to the imperial practice of claiming lands that might have economic potential. Although the fur trade had been going on for centuries, the deliberate establishment of the fort in Canadian territory was also part of an ongoing border dispute between two colonial nations. However, the debate over an international boundary according to Western notions of land occupation (a common practice in New Imperialism) demarked the land in ways unfamiliar to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. In fact, the subsequent drawing of maps to delineate both imperial and private property indelibly altered Indigenous relationships with ancestral territories. For instance, the removal of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in from their ancestral fishing camp at Tr'ochëk to make way for colonial property owners permanently altered seasonal rounds. In addition, the establishment of government reserve lands for a NWMP compound just south of Dawson in a traditional Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in harvesting area disregarded centuries of site use. These examples demonstrate how the New Imperialism practice of drawing arbitrary boundaries and legalizing land sales dispossessed Indigenous people of their ancestral territory.

Throughout the Tr'ondëk-Klondike serial site, there is existing evidence showing the varied relationships between the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and non-Indigenous people, and also how these encounters changed relationships with the land. In some places, such as Fort Reliance, there is significant evidence of cohabitation, where both populations benefitted in certain ways due to

the presence, knowledge and resources of the other. Other places, such as Forty Mile, have considerable evidence of segregation, where the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not actively excluded from settlements but were cordoned off in certain areas. Places such as Black City, where the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were able to sustain traditional land use, but for different purposes, relationship to the land remained more or less as it had been for centuries. Finally, places like Moosehide show evidence of isolation yet some self-sufficiency, where the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were deliberately placed outside European-style settlements and largely conducted their lives away from non-Indigenous people. All of these experiences of colonialism, and the corresponding evidence in the Tr'ondëk-Klondike property, demonstrate the contrasting conceptualizations of land and its uses between the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and newly arrived outsiders.

IV. b. ii. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land – New Imperialism

The late 19th and early 20th centuries are characterized as the height of “New Imperialism”: a period when Western nations attempted to control vast territories primarily for competing economic interests. The most significant arena for expansion was Africa (called the “Scramble for Africa”), but parts of East Asia, the Middle East and Central America were also targeted for imperialist expansion. Nations engaging in “New Imperialism” were focused almost exclusively on controlling resources and economic interests, such as trading routes. In contrast to other periods of imperialism, establishing governance structures and opening areas for European-style settlement was of secondary importance. However, these forces were still present, with institutions, such as missionaries and schools, often working hand in hand with the imposition of economic structures.

Great Britain is recognized as the instigator and leader of New Imperialism throughout the Late Victorian and Edwardian periods. On one hand, Britain was loosening controls on long-established settler-colonies, including Canada and Australia, and establishing locally based governance in others, including India. On the other hand, Britain was using its military dominance to expand its economic reach and protect its interests in critical resource areas around the globe. The Second Boer War (1899-1901) is often recognized as the height of British imperialism, where the military and government expended considerable resources to protect economic interests in South Africa.

The Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination is set within this critical period of New Imperialism and is closely tied to imperialist economic forces in the late nineteenth-century. While Canada was a relatively independent former colony, the region was still closely tied to Britain and its economy. Competing Western economic interests (primarily between Canada/Britain and the United States) in the northern territories of North America prompted the establishment of governance and social institutions in the Yukon, not the other way around. The need to control resources in remote and isolated lands was a common feature of British New Imperialism and similarly fueled Canadian/British economic interest in the Yukon during this period.

IV. b. iii. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land – American Expansion

In the late nineteenth-century, particularly following the Civil War, the United States began exerting influence on the world stage. The mandate of the Monroe Doctrine (originally passed in 1823) was expanded: not only did the United States oppose European colonisation in North America, they became committed to “safeguarding” local people from European colonial control. As a result, the United States grew their presence in the Caribbean, particularly in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, and bolstered interests in East Asia, such as the Philippines and Guam. The Spanish-American War (1898) further solidified American influence in former Spanish colonies. While the Monroe Doctrine provided moral reasoning for imperial expansion, the United States was economically interested in former colonies who wanted to establish trade relationships independent of European nations, particularly Britain.

The United States was also focused on internal expansion. American governments were committed to “clearing the West” for settler expansion by forcibly removing and controlling Indigenous populations. Following American military raids and massacres, Indigenous people were confined to reserves and then systematically stripped of land. The desire to control resources, particularly mining rights, was a major impetus for this internal expansion. Remote territorial holdings, including Hawaii and Alaska, were also solidified as American possessions. In the Yukon, Fort Reliance, established by a private American trading company, functioned as an arm of imperialism. Deliberately located on the Canadian side of the border, this fort encroached on Canadian/British interests. The semi-permanence of the fort’s construction and the development of relationships with local Indigenous people demonstrated the importance of this colonial foothold. In addition, during the Klondike Gold Rush, many of the arriving prospectors were from the United States and in many cases had actively participated in American and even Canadian colonial expansion. Their familiarity with stripping Indigenous peoples of ancestral lands when claiming mining stakes would have influenced their practices and relationships with the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in in the Yukon.

The Canadian government (also influenced by British colonial officials) was particularly concerned about American expansion in the North. As more miners gradually made their way through Canadian territories in the 1880s, the Dominion government became increasingly concerned that it could be overtaken. Colonial institutions established before the Klondike Gold Rush post, most notably the NWMP presence at Fort Constantine just across the river from Forty Mile, were not only created to administer the area, but also to combat American economic interest in the Yukon. The NWMP collected tariffs, taxes and customs duties from Americans as a further (and profitable) display of Canadian sovereignty.

Similar to other colonial contexts around the world during this period, the imperial game played between Canada/Britain and the United States did not acknowledge the presence of local Indigenous people. The Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in’s relationship with their ancestral territory directly clashed with the imperial practice of dividing land amongst Western powers. While this activity was a theoretical exercise at first, once large deposits of gold were discovered in the Yukon, the task of delineating spaces for distant imperial governments gained increased urgency.

IV. b. iv. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land – Canadian Sovereignty

The period of 1874-1908 was a key time for the expansion and formalization of colonialism by the sovereign Canadian state. Exerting control over Indigenous people in the western reaches of the country was necessary for achieving many goals of the new Dominion, particularly western expansion, greater European immigration and resource extraction. Although Canada was still intimately connected to Britain (particularly in the area of foreign policy), there were opportunities to exert some independence. In addition, the Dominion was physically and symbolically expanding to new frontiers on the west and northern borders. Increasing distances between population centres and the need for Dominion government surveillance meant that unification was of paramount concern. As colonial structures were dispatched to new territories, developments in communication and transportation technologies assisted in bringing disparate areas under Dominion control.

While Canada was pulling away from British colonial controls, it was simultaneously focused on asserting its separateness from the United States. The 49th parallel (with numerous exceptions) was recognized by colonial powers as an international boundary for decades, but threats of American expansion, particularly in the unregulated western provinces, concerned the governments of the young Dominion. A formal border was not agreed upon until 1909, a few years after the last western provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan joined Confederation. Prior to the border agreement, the Dominion of Canada exerted its sovereignty in frontier spaces using a variety of strategies. The creation of the North West Mounted Police, the establishment of British Columbia, the laying of the railway and eventually the resolution of the Alaskan border dispute were all undertaken partially in response to fears of American encroachment.

With a vast territory to control, the Dominion government was also focused on asserting its sovereignty through unifying symbols. The transcontinental railroad and its many spurs from coast to coast were economically necessary but also provided a symbolic imperialist route through distant lands. Railroads were commonly used by imperial powers around the world to assert their dominance; the technology and supremacy required to stretch a line across vast stretches of land was intended as a showcase of European superiority.

One of the biggest arms of Canadian sovereignty was the North West Mounted Police and their collection of numerous outposts in even the most distant corners of the imperial nation. Unlike many NWMP centres in the western provinces, the northern presence of the police force was primarily intended to guard land and resources, rather than open the space for settlement. Although the interest in land was different in the Yukon, the displacement of Indigenous populations was still a key part of the broader NWMP mandate. The NWMP presence in the Tr'ondëk-Klondike property was also supplemented with a missionary branch of the Anglican Church. Buxton Mission, originally built at Forty Mile, was later moved to Mission Island, just upriver from the townsite, to separate it and its First Nation congregation from the alcohol consumption and gambling in town. As with many other colonial interactions around the world, the presence of church and state went hand in hand in displacing, segregating and

administering Indigenous populations. The religious and state complexes of the Yukon, featuring standard Western building techniques and designs, are closely related to other building collections serving similar functions throughout North America.

IV. b. v. Experiences of Colonialism – Relationships to Land – Conclusion

The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's relationships with their ancestral territories were vastly impacted by the arrival of non-Indigenous people who were greatly influenced by the global spread of "New Imperialism." Just before the rush, colonial governments scoured maps and fought over imaginary boundaries, while the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in lived with the land as they had for centuries. These contrasting viewpoints of land and the impactful changes wrought by the arrival of colonialism affected the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in a variety of ways. In some spaces they successfully remained partners of newcomers and cohabitated, while in other places they were actively removed and relocated.

IV. c. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use

IV. c. i. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use – Introduction

For centuries before the arrival of non-Indigenous people, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in inhabited their ancestral territories according to long-standing traditions and seasonal rounds. However, the introduction of the European economy, the arrival of thousands of outsiders and the imposition of Canadian colonial structures was a direct challenge to traditional land use and custodianship of their territory. Symbols and actions of Canadian sovereignty popping up throughout the built environment did not respect Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in sovereignty. Instead, the land was treated as terra nullius by colonial governments who freely sold parcels to individual prospectors, most of whom saw the land as a "thing" to be exploited.

The Tr'ondëk-Klondike property contains excellent evidence that speaks to Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in land use before, during and after the arrival of colonialism. Contrasting land use patterns by non-Indigenous people are also remarkably preserved in the serial site. In fact, many of the same factors that positioned the Yukon on the "frontier," especially its distance from population centres, challenging climate and perceived remoteness, assisted in the preservation of numerous eras of Indigenous and non-Indigenous occupation. Most rush towns from the late nineteenth-century were either reconstructed as they grew into permanent settlements or were completely abandoned and lost to decay. The presence of Indigenous people at these sites was often erased in the rush of development or during the establishment of permanent settlements. With a large population boom and equally fast decline, the Tr'ondëk-Klondike property underwent rapid development that abruptly stalled within a few short years. As a result, much of the Indigenous archaeological evidence was retained and the rush town building stock was not redeveloped on a large scale. Given its importance to Canadian colonial narratives, the building stock has also undergone conservation. The Yukon's climate and geography, such as permafrost and the lack of other building materials, also contributed to the

retention of the late nineteenth-century rush character and its interconnection with systems of colonialism.

IV. c. ii. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use – Settlements and Land

Throughout the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination, contrasting ideas between the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and newly arrived outsiders about the organization of settlements are clearly demonstrated. For example, the layouts at both Forty Mile and Dawson follow fairly typical Western colonial arrangements, although both were built using different design principles. The settlement pattern at Forty Mile follows a trading post design: individual dwellings are organized around commercial and social hubs. When the townsite was surveyed in 1896, roads and other markers were installed to impose some organizational structure on the haphazard alignment. In contrast, Dawson features a grid pattern that originates from the banks of the Yukon River. The structured plot system was laid out prior to large-scale construction. As a result, property was divided into rectangular Western-style lots of equal measurements set along standard width streets. Strategically located lots were set aside for colonial institutions, such as government buildings and police headquarters. As a result, "districts" emerged that separated residences from commercial blocks, which corresponded with Western notions of habitation and the capitalist economy. Emerging non-Indigenous communities were also orientated towards rivers and other waterways due to their importance in transporting people and goods to remote settlements.

In contrast with the non-Indigenous settlers and prospectors in the late nineteenth-century, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in constructed and inhabited their communities in very different ways. Although the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in followed a seasonal round based on the life cycles of plants and animals in the Yukon, they returned to some of the same sites regularly. As a result, certain settlement areas had semi-permanent dwellings and frequently used infrastructure, such as fish drying racks. In other places, it was important for dwellings to be portable and easily moveable in accordance with the seasonal round progression; structures such as tents, brush houses and lean-tos were constructed and dismantled as needed. Residences were generally clustered in family units and it was not uncommon for multiple generations and kinship groups to share a single structure at certain camps. Dwellings were usually near to and pointed towards the Yukon River or its tributaries, which attested to the importance of these life-giving routes through their ancestral territories. Unlike the gold rush towns of Forty Mile and Dawson City, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in communities were not orientated around commercial or institutional hubs, but rather centred on the river and sources of sustenance.

The changes to Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in land use, brought about by the Klondike Gold Rush, is also evident through the movement between different sites. For example, by 1897, miners' encampments were encroaching on the long-time seasonal camp of Tr'ochëk. The riverfront lands were considered ideal spots by non-Indigenous people for the growing settlement, as they offered access to the river for receiving and sending goods by water. After being displaced from Tr'ochëk, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in looked for a new place to establish their seasonal camps while the government survey was conducted. They identified an alternative location located on

the edges of Dawson City, but they were informed that this lot was already assigned to the NWMP. When the survey was still in progress, colonial officials had the first choice of lots and the NWMP selected a strategic surveillance spot near the entry to the settlement. For the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the lot was ideally located near the river and within close reach of their important salmon fishing grounds; in contrast, for the NWMP the lot was also important, but as a prime spot to observe the comings and goings of Dawson.

The organization of Moosehide reflects the adaptation of traditional Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in land use patterns to permanent settlement, with its principal row of buildings along its upper bench oriented towards the river, with smaller buildings and fish drying racks on the lower bench and towards the rear of the townsite, and with its central open space, which served as a gathering place during events and celebrations. Although it does not follow the same gridiron pattern as Dawson, its layout also has elements of some Western notions of community organization. For example, the church of St. Barnabas was constructed at the Moosehide trail head with a commanding view of the Yukon River on a prominent rise of land providing visual impact and authority by virtue of the height of the building and its placement on the knoll. From this elevated site, church officials could assume a paternal gaze over the community with St. Barnabas standing in for the negotiation of land use between colonial interests and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

IV. c. iii. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use – Geography of Yukon (terrain and climate)

The land use patterns of both the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and non-Indigenous people were greatly influenced by the geography of the Yukon, especially its terrain and climate. For many arriving prospectors, the subarctic cold was especially challenging. The gold at Rabbit (later Bonanza) Creek was discovered in an area of permafrost which added extra steps to the extraction process. The ground had to be thawed and prepared before digging was even possible. Recently melted soil was watery and unstable, increasing the dangers to miners while also exaggerating the environmental impacts. The thawing of permafrost and the mass movement of earth during this process dramatically and permanently changed the landscape. Many rivers and creeks in the area around Dawson were dug up, redirected, widened and sifted, irreversibly affecting plants, fish and wildlife. The ancestral territory of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in was irreparably altered by these practices and many life-sustaining species were critically depleted.

The subarctic climate also meant that living conditions were extremely difficult for new arrivals unaccustomed to the dramatic temperatures. Canvas tents were standard sleeping arrangements for prospectors, but largely due to the unforgiving climate, they were often replaced by modest log dwellings. It appears that non-Indigenous prospectors failed to adopt any Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in techniques for constructing or arranging their residences. Instead, they used standard Western methods with some adaptations to compensate for the particulars of the Yukon.

The different building techniques and patterns that emerged from the Gold Rush in response to the challenging geography were also new to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. In contrast with the new

arrivals, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had centuries of experience in dealing with the particulars of the Yukon's terrain and climate. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in shared this knowledge and assisted early fur traders in establishing a semi-permanent post at Fort Reliance. Settlement patterns that followed seasonal rounds, building techniques that naturally insulated dwellings with brush and infrastructure that assisted with sustenance living were some of the long-established practices of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in developed in response to living with the land. Unlike the fur traders of the 1870s, many newcomers did not value traditional knowledge of the land nor how to work within the confines of geography. A sense of cultural superiority meant that many recent arrivals brought and attempted to continue their Western methods of living. This is especially evident in the construction of log cabins, even in semi-permanent settlement areas. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in adopted the construction of log cabins at Moosehide, largely due to the encouragement of colonial officials who were intent on establishing a permanent Indigenous settlement. Other types of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in structures, such as brush lean-tos, dome huts and moss houses, were not used in Moosehide, largely due to imposed Western ideas about building permanence.

IV. c. iv. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use – Resources (uses and impacts)

The large increase in population coupled with the widespread expansion of the mining industry at the turn of the century in the Tr'ondëk-Klondike region left permanent and devastating marks on the land and its resources. In a very short period, a large swath of territory was immensely impacted. As individual miners flooded the territories of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the landscape was irreparably modified by new technologies. As rivers and streams were redirected or pooled, fish supplies dwindled or disappeared altogether. Natural crossings for local caribou migrations were altered and the animals went elsewhere. The introduction of new transportation methods, such as the steamboat and locomotive, cut off access to certain areas, while also providing some opportunities for seasonal employment, such as wood cutting camps. The coming of the Second Industrial Revolution to the Yukon, where individual prospectors were replaced by large corporations, would further alienate the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in from their ancestral territory and historical land use patterns.

The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were forced to alter their seasonal round partially in response to dwindling natural resources as the non-Indigenous population increased. Larger European-style settlements physically displaced Indigenous camps, but they also irreparably damaged sustenance networks. For example, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had occupied Ch'ëdähchëk kek'it as a seasonal fish camp and caribou crossing site for thousands of years. When settlers established the Forty Mile townsite, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were likely dispersed throughout the area as they were unable to utilize traditional harvesting areas due to the influx of people and construction. Archaeological evidence suggests that some activities were segregated in this settlement, including burials, and the presence of non-Indigenous people was already impacting the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's relationship with their territory. Ch'ëdähchëk kek'it was an important stop on the seasonal round where caribou was harvested, which provided an annual supply of sustenance and supplies for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. The presence of numerous outsiders at this important point was very short lived, although some people remained in Forty

Mile for decades to come. Nonetheless, even the temporary large-scale settlement irrecoverably altered how the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in interacted with ancestral territory.

The non-Indigenous presence in the ancestral territory of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in spread over a large area in a short time due to the realities of the Gold Rush and further deepened the impact of colonial expansion on the land's natural resources. Individual prospecting required the staking of relatively large claims which spread settlement further into Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in lands. Miners who had their own claims tended to reside near their stakes in semi-permanent dwellings, while people who serviced the miners or some who worked on consolidated claims usually lived within Dawson. People who settled in Dawson eventually erected structures near each other, while individual prospecting cabins and tents were abandoned, reused or dismantled. Nonetheless, the expansion prompted by the Gold Rush permanently altered the landscape surrounding the Yukon River and its environs for miles.

IV. c. v. Experiences of Colonialism – Land Use – Conclusion

After thousands of years of continual inhabitation, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had developed a close stewardship relationship with their ancestral territory. They understood the remarkable geography of the Yukon and how to survive in the subarctic territory. The arrival of non-Indigenous prospectors and especially the development of settlements greatly disrupted the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's relationship with land and non-human relatives. The Klondike Gold Rush and the stampede of people who travelled north as a result abruptly transformed the Yukon and drastically altered the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in's way of life.

IV. d. Experiences of Colonialism - Economic

IV. d. i. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – Introduction

The Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination is an outstanding example of the rapid and expansive implementation of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism, fueled by colonialism, to an area previously unexposed to the Western economic system. For thousands of years, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had their own economy, intertwined with neighbouring First Nations, that was integrated with the seasonal rounds of their ancestral territories. As economic conditions around North America shifted, industrial capitalism debuted and rapidly spread into the Yukon, which significantly contributed to the great upheaval experienced by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in at the turn of the century.

Faced with limited economic opportunities, many individuals of all classes across the continent were searching for their own source of financial stability in the later years of the nineteenth-century. Gold rushes from previous decades had created a collection of folklore that continually stoked imaginations and individual ambitions. With a focus on obtaining individual riches that could propel them into a new social class, miners exploited land for economic gain through the monumental clearing of sites, large-scale harvesting of timber and haphazard disposal of spent

resources. The hurried abandonment of settlements when their value declined, such as at Fort Reliance and Forty Mile, aligns with the nineteenth-century industrial capitalist viewpoint of natural spaces and their uses. This contrasts sharply with archaeological evidence that demonstrates centuries of inhabitation and use of the same lands by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

The timeframe of the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination was also a critical period for Canada's economic development, as the Canadian economy was transformed by new innovations and ideas about labour coming from the Second Industrial Revolution. In the north, this system was signaled by the replacement of individual miners using rudimentary tools by consolidated corporations employing the latest technology and wage labour. However, for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the capitalist industrial economy was completely unfamiliar and all changes to their lands were unprecedented. Within a single generation, the Yukon would quickly become a critical cog in the Canadian colonial industrial machine.

IV. d. ii. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – North American Capitalist Economy

The mid-nineteenth century was generally a time of economic prosperity and expansion for many non-Indigenous people and communities in North America. Even the American Civil War, which was a period of social upheaval and disruption, was a significant period of economic growth, particularly for northern states and Canadian economies. As the nineteenth-century wore on, many people continued to experience economic prosperity as the middle class gradually expanded. Within the capitalist system, even ordinary workers were generally inspired by the prospect of class climbing and a comfortable financial existence. However, in the early 1890s, the stock markets plummeted and many new investors panicked. The North American economy was sent into a downward spiral, a period now identified as a major recession. After an era of steady economic growth and optimism, people were suddenly bankrupt and disillusionment rose as fast as unemployment rates.

Even before the recession of the 1890s, there was increasing labour unrest amongst the working class. Workers were organizing and demanding fair wages, eight-hour work days and better conditions; coupled with the economic downturn, this unrest revealed significant cracks in early industrial capitalism. Although the system promised equal opportunities, many average workers saw themselves embroiled in a constant fight for survival and were unable to get ahead. The idea of “getting rich fast” was a very attractive notion and many workers were ready to chase any prospect of wealth no matter the challenge. In addition, industrial workers who were bored with repetitious and uninspiring work, were looking elsewhere for adventure and individual notoriety. The popularity of imperial adventure tales and frontier expansion in popular novels and newspaper serials further inspired a generation of “adventurers” looking to stake their very own claim to fame.

Throughout the period covered by the nomination, Canada especially was undergoing rapid industrialization. The Second Industrial Revolution was at its height, as automation spread and corporations grew. Primary industries, such as forestry, mining and fishing, were all facing a flood of technological advances and the introduction of consolidated companies using wage

labour models. The relationship between individuals and the work they performed was radically changing. This notable economic and labour transformation is evidenced in the Tr'ondëk-Klondike property. The area transformed from a fur trade economy that utilized traditional technologies to full-scale corporate mining in only three decades. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, in particular, witnessed this rapid transformation of their territory. The addition of European goods, first fueled by the trade economy and eventually by the capitalist system, also changed how the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in lived. For example, the introduction of Western building materials and techniques supplemented a growing breadth of technologies that transformed Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in living spaces. Tents previously made from hides were replaced by canvas and semi-permanent residences were made more long-lasting by utilizing log construction.

IV. d. iii. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – Nineteenth-Century Gold Rushes

The Klondike Gold Rush was the last nineteenth-century rush of its kind and is often considered to be the final major North American mining rush. Prospectors would continue to travel from one area to another, but the mass movement of huge crowds and the establishment of cities overnight principally ended in Dawson. For prospectors, many of North America's perceived "final frontiers" were conquered with the Klondike rush. Generally, the increasing presence of large corporations and the practice of quickly consolidating individual claims was changing the rush phenomena forever.

One of the earliest and largest migrations due to a profitable mining strike was the California Gold Rush of 1848. Individuals stampeded to the west coast of California, hoping to strike it rich and change their lives forever. Stories of fortune and "roads paved in gold" encouraged many working-class people to try their luck. The conditions created by such a massive movement and sudden large-scale settlement in the San Francisco area came to characterize many subsequent rushes in the following decades. Some individuals remained where they settled after finding or losing their fortunes, while others relocated from rush to rush as economic forces drew them elsewhere. Subsequent rushes up the west coast and eventually into northern British Columbia followed similar trends and soon the lore of a "Gold Rush" was deeply planted within the popular imagination. For Indigenous people located in the rush areas, the massive upheaval created by the advent of gold mining was devastating and long-lasting.

The Klondike Gold Rush is closely linked to the previous mining stampedes of the nineteenth-century. Numerous lessons learned by individual prospectors and governments at other sites were applied to the Klondike context. Some miners were regular followers of multiple rushes and were familiar with the stampeding lifestyle, while other inexperienced prospectors relied on knowledge passed down from veterans. However, for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, this was the first large-scale incursion of any outsiders into their territory. Many non-Indigenous people would have been familiar with establishing rush settlements, staking claims and exploiting local Indigenous people for economic gain, but these processes and dynamics were very unfamiliar to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

At most gold rush sites in the late nineteenth-century, Indigenous people were forcibly removed and excluded from their ancestral territories to make way for prospectors and the capitalist economy they represented. Similarly, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were removed and largely shut out of mining in the Klondike Goldfields. However, some participated in early prospecting and engaged in the nineteenth-century capitalist economy in a few instances. For example, an archaeological pit at Forty Mile shows a relatively even layering of Indigenous and Western tools and technologies. The integration of Indigenous and Western prospecting tools indicates that the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not completely excluded from the new economic system at Forty Mile and some actively participated. However, the segregated Indigenous burial plots and separated living areas at Forty Mile indicate that this wasn't an easy or equal relationship.

The non-Indigenous settlement patterns throughout the serial site are also very closely linked to the Western economic systems instituted during gold rushes across the continent. At many rush towns throughout North America, the cheapest and most easily attainable local materials (usually wood) were used to build all structures which were constructed primarily for functional purposes. One to two storey buildings with simple rectangular plans were the norm and even certain standard elements, such as windows, were minimal. Ornamentation was rarely added, unless it aided in the function of the building. Public and institutional structures were rarely differentiated by architectural style or prominence in early rush towns. In fact, the most notable buildings in these places were often commercial or trading centres. To differentiate commercial structures from residences, false fronts were commonly added to front gabled structures on a main street. This technique increased the presence of the building on the streetscape, disguised the modest size of buildings behind, created a flat surface for adding advertisements and also contributed to the creation of a bordered main street that imposed some structure on the town plan.

A full range of rush town architecture is evident at both Forty Mile and Dawson City. At present day Forty Mile, a few log construction residences are still dotted throughout the settlement. Most of the surviving structures are prominent administrative and commercial centres. Hastily built residences or temporary dwellings were not envisioned by builders as permanent structures and few traces remain. In contrast, a variety of rush period buildings, even semi-temporary ones, are evident in present day Dawson City. The surviving buildings from the initial rush period exhibit a high degree of authenticity and fully represent the hurried yet planned period of development at the turn of the century. Many pre-1899 commercial buildings in Dawson's centre are frontier style wood structures, with the distinctive false fronts covering front facing gables. This style of architecture, common to many rush towns in western North America in the late nineteenth-century, dominated the original streetscapes of the Klondike Gold Rush. Most of the original commercial structures were very basic in form and plan, had little or no ornamentation and were constructed exclusively of wood.

IV. d. iv. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – Technology

The industrial capitalist economy that was present in the Yukon was also supplemented by technological developments. A number of modern technologies were invented and expanded in the late nineteenth-century: cables for telegraph and phone communication were laid across the globe, new forms of electrical power were developed and electricity arrived in communities throughout the Western world. With the expansion of the railroad and steamships, travel times were drastically reduced and areas were more accessible than ever. A flurry of new inventions also transformed the mining industry in North America which resulted in the rapid expansion of resource extraction. Areas that were previously inaccessible or too difficult to enter were suddenly open for development. Shafts were dug faster and deeper, while resources were removed in larger quantities than ever before using a variety of technologies. Even hand tools and extraction techniques were perfected at sites throughout the continent, as more people from around the world met at boom sites and shared collective knowledge.

The Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination has a critical relationship with technological innovations from this period. The rapid spread and massive explosion of interest in the Yukon was undeniably fueled by improvements in communication technologies and shortened transportation times. For instance, with the expanded range of the telegraph, news of the Gold Rush spread more quickly throughout North America than in previous rushes. Easier transportation networks were also quickly developed; many early prospectors who couldn't afford the steamship route via Alaska were forced to use treacherous mountain passes to access the raging waters of the Yukon River. However, subsequent settlers embarked on steamships and even partially travelled by rail to Whitehorse to more easily access Dawson. Many of these innovations intensified the rush, but also likely minimized the number of permanent settlers, as newcomers could come and go easily. These same technologies also helped to keep Dawson under constant surveillance from afar. For example, the Telegraph Office (1899) was the first public structure constructed by the colonial government and speaks to the importance of communication and its spread to the far reaches of the Empire.

The quick consolidation of claims and arrival of corporations in the first years of the twentieth-century is also linked to technology. Many early prospectors relied on older forms of mining practices when surveying their individual claims, but a rise in commercial interest was accompanied by the development of new extraction methods. Only a couple of years following the initial rush, corporations brought in massive dredges and other technologies to mine more efficiently, which eventually impacted a much larger area. The transformation of the Yukon's economy from a small-scale fur trading and mining outpost to a key component of Canadian industrial capitalism was effectively complete within only a few years.

IV. d. v. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – Exclusion

In many parts of Canada, Indigenous people were encouraged by the Dominion government to participate in the capitalist economy and become self-sufficient members of Western society. Traditional ways of life and land use were highly discouraged and actively eradicated. However, the situation in the Yukon was different from other parts of Canada, largely due to the geographic and economic conditions of the territory. The Dominion government was first

interested in the Yukon as a mining site and showed little interest in resettling large numbers of non-Indigenous people in the region. Although the natural resources in their ancestral territory were depleted, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not completely barred from engaging in some traditional practices and the Dominion government did not consider this lifestyle to be an immediate impediment to development.

Once gold was discovered in the region, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not considered partners in capitalist economic development and there were no mechanisms to assimilate them into that system. Indigenous people did engage in gold prospecting, especially before the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898, although they participated as individuals. In contrast to many mining regions throughout the world during this period, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were not encouraged or forced by colonial government programs to participate in gold mining. During the height of the rush, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were segregated to their new settlement at Moosehide, which was located away from the goldfields. Unlike mine settlements geared towards the inclusion of Indigenous populations in Asia and South America, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were strategically kept away from the primary mining operations in the Klondike.

Because many miners were intent on getting wealthy as quickly as possible and then leaving the Yukon forever, they had a unique relationship with Indigenous people. Evidence at Fort Reliance indicates that traders cohabitated with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and adopted some Indigenous technologies. The scale of the trading economy enabled a joint and somewhat mutually beneficial relationship where both sides relied on one another (albeit unevenly). In contrast, the massive influx of miners arriving first at Forty Mile and then in Dawson had capitalist notions of wealth and land use. Mining claims and private property was introduced, which directly contrasted to the largely communal Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in way of life. In addition, instilled with a sense of cultural and economic superiority, the stampedeers did not consider the importance of building relationships with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

IV. d. vi. Experiences of Colonialism – Economic – Conclusion

The Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination is intricately connected to the nineteenth-century North American economic conditions that fanned the flames of the Klondike Gold Rush and attracted tens of thousands of non-Indigenous people to the north. The geo-cultural conditions of the Yukon, coupled with the backgrounds of the newly arriving prospectors, facilitated the creation of the monumental mining operations and settlement patterns that would forever change the ancestral territories of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. However, these same geo-cultural conditions, especially the climate and distance from colonial centres, would also allow the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in to retain some elements of their traditional lifestyle and remain partially independent from the reach of the Western capitalist economy.

IV. e. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural

IV. e. i. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural – Introduction

When an influx of people arrived after a gold strike, they were not usually accompanied immediately by Western systems of governance. Generally, ordinary prospectors attempted to establish their own laws and rules of government, which greatly impacted the formation of relationships between Indigenous people and outsiders. In contrast, the Yukon had some established governance structure, mainly through the presence of the NWMP, before the rush began. When the first news of a massive gold strike was received, the Dominion of Canada raced to secure additional control of the area largely due to the lessons learned at previous rushes in British Columbia. As the stampede reached its height, the territory was officially created and the presence of the Dominion government in Dawson was solidified. Consequently, the settlement patterns and building developments in Dawson were more strongly regulated and formally organized than other rush towns.

The arrival of police and government, coupled with the creation of the Yukon territory as an administrative unit in the Dominion of Canada, were further exertions of power by British/Canadian forces in the face of potential American invasion. While this northern international border was of great concern to the American and British/Canadian colonial governments, the boundary bisected traditional Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in territory. The arbitrary line drawn on a map in a distant colonial centre had no connection to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and their use of the land. In fact, important kinship relationships and seasonal rounds were affected in the creation of this border that further encouraged the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in to remain at permanent settlements, such as Moosehide.

For the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the wave of new construction in Dawson and the administrative offices the buildings housed, contributed to the great cultural upheaval they were experiencing in the late nineteenth-century. Structures created by non-Indigenous people at Fort Reliance and Forty Mile were foreign in appearance, but were of a reasonable scale. In contrast, the wave of public buildings being constructed in Dawson were monumental in comparison. For the constant stream of non-Indigenous newcomers, the public buildings in Dawson were built to resemble administrative structures in the south; these symbolic relationships were also intended to facilitate cooperative connections between institutions and citizens of the Klondike. This was often achieved by architectural elements, including the use of classically inspired details, symmetry and a comparatively imposing height. However, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were unfamiliar with these new built forms imposed on their territory. For them, the arrival of these, outsiders, large buildings and the institutions they represented signaled immense socio-cultural changes.

IV. e. ii. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural – Colonial Institutions

The arrival of colonial institutions, including police, missionaries and governance, closely accompanied the increased economic interest in the area by British/Canadians and Americans. While most institutions were rooted and formalized at the height of the gold rush, some predated the boom. For example, the first NWMP post was established at Fort Constantine,

across the river from the Forty Mile settlement, in 1895. Photographic evidence shows the detachment as a garrison-style compound with multiple log buildings set inside a fenced yard. There is evidence that the extant NWMP building at Forty Mile was moved from Fort Constantine when that detachment downsized in 1901. This building is a two-storey squared log construction that had a second-storey front porch (now lost) and an otherwise symmetrical façade with central doors on each level flanked on each side by a pair of windows. The Anglican church had also established a presence in the Yukon prior to the Klondike rush of the late 1890s. Buxton Mission, relocated from the Forty Mile townsite to Mission Island, consisted of a two-storey mission building and school, there was a two-storey residence and a number of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in cabins and caches on Mission Island.

The establishment of the church and police, even in the early rush period, signalled a major change in governance in the Yukon. Distant colonial administrators had long discussed international boundaries and imperial authority in the region, but no permanent institutions had been installed prior to the 1890s. For the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Fort Constantine and the Buxton Mission were the first colonial-style surveillance structures in their ancestral territories. The buildings and layout resembled the Classical, plain and orderly colonial complexes of the south that would have been familiar to non-Indigenous newcomers. In contrast, the fort and mission were monumental new additions for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and were intricately tied to the broader cultural upheaval they were experiencing.

In “frontier” rush towns, the usual absence of colonial governments had a major impact on settlement patterns and land use. Most North American settlements created during a rush were built quickly and temporarily, often without the aid of surveyors or town planners, as administrative structures were not yet established. Many rush towns were laid out haphazardly without clear ordering or regulations. While a main street with commercial structures would often emerge organically, settlements usually sprang up too quickly to plan regular lots, similar orientations or districts. When non-Indigenous people first arrived in greater numbers at Forty Mile in the mid 1880s, there were no government authorities present in the Yukon. Consequently, the resulting settlement featured a largely arbitrary design that resembled many trading posts of the frontier where the tents and cabins were grouped around prominent commercial buildings in the centre. The settlement was generally understood by residents as functional and temporary, featuring numerous tents, cabins and lean-tos and a lack of residential frame construction.

As rush settlements moved from place to place in the Yukon, colonial authorities represented by the church, police and, eventually, the territorial government, also relocated. Their presence was a critical anchor for non-Indigenous interest in the Yukon. However, their role and reasons for governance were different from those of administrative units in the south during the late nineteenth-century. Since prospecting and mining drew most people to the territory during this period, clearing the land, forcing the removal of Indigenous people, and making it ideal for long term European-style settlement was not the primary goal of governance in the Yukon; the Dominion government and its representatives were largely focused on regulating and profiting from the capitalist exploitation of land.

IV. e. iii. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural – Government Presence

By the first years of the twentieth-century in Dawson, there was a strong and united architectural presence of governmental buildings that coincided with a broader desire to control the activities of local people and the economy. Colonial symbols, such as flags, coats of arms, ceremonies and even architectural details, were commonly used to unify vast parts of the Empire. The employment of Edwardian building styles and ornamentation in Dawson that matched similar building materials and styles to places in the south symbolically united communities separated by great distances under the Dominion government. In the young city of Dawson, the erection of six public buildings between 1900-02 including the Telegraph Office, Commissioner's Residence, Post Office, Territorial Courthouse and Territorial Administration Building, architecturally related a far post of the Empire to other government centres across the country. The imposition of a grid-iron pattern and government districts with clusters of administrative buildings constituted further overlays of the colonial landscape.

Many of the public buildings in Dawson were designed by Thomas W. Fuller shortly before he became the Dominion Architect (a post also previously held by his father). The use of a prominent architect to design buildings on the fringes of the frontier speaks to the importance placed on establishing a governmental presence in the Yukon by the Dominion government. The collection of Fuller's buildings that survive in Dawson feature many of the same architectural attributes: classically inspired buildings with symmetrical massing and limited ornamentation characterize his Yukon style. Using the same architect who mobilized a similar style for different buildings throughout the settlement ensured continuity across the administrative structures in Dawson and created a visually recognizable stock of public buildings in the growing territory.

Another method of asserting colonial authority in a new territory was the dispatching of dedicated agents to enforce colonial legislation. In the case of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, an Indian Agent and administrative offices were not established until the mid-twentieth century. Thus, at the turn of the century, the Anglican missionaries primarily played the part of colonial representatives. They regularly communicated with the Dominion government about Indigenous issues, but also imposed Canadian legislation on the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, with the assistance of the NWMP. Many legislative mechanisms were already in place and formalized when colonial officials arrived in the Yukon, likely diminishing the need for a dedicated Indian Agent. For example, the Indian Act, already passed into law, came with the colonial officials, missionaries and police, many of whom were intimately familiar with the application of policies in the south. Included in the Indian Act was legislation restricting movement, banning certain cultural ceremonies, mandating schooling and regulating social behaviors. For many Indigenous groups in western Canada, the Indian Act (along with numbered treaties, in some areas) changed and formalized their relationship with the Dominion government. In the case of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the Indian Act was already a staple of Canadian law when colonial officials first arrived.

Unlike many other Indigenous groups in Canada at this time, there were no treaties governing the relationship between the Dominion government and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. As a result, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in were left in a precarious position: on one hand, they had little recourse to counter any governmental violations of their rights, but on the other hand, they were free from certain restrictive measures contained in many treaties of southern Canada. As missionaries carried out the roles of colonial administrators, the community-level connections between Indigenous people and the church were firmly established. At both Forty Mile and Moosehide, the Anglican missionaries were located close to Indigenous community centres and functioned as a point of surveillance, epitomised in the construction of St. Barnabas Anglican Church in 1907 at Moosehide. In contrast, by 1898, the territorial administrators dispatched by the Dominion government along with the NWMP were located in Dawson and largely separate from the segregated Moosehide settlement.

IV. e. iv. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural – Permanent European-style Settlement

As the population began to decline in Dawson, a devastating fire destroyed much of the temporary settlement in 1899 and took many of the hastily constructed commercial and residential buildings with it. Following the fire, the rush to construct as quickly as possible had died down. There was still a need to replace the building stock, but more time was available to plan and design notable structures. The introduction of ornamental elements was also possible due to the increased availability of goods from the south via frequent and shortened steamship routes. With additional time available, local builders were also creating structures that would communicate some permanence and prestige for the gold rush town. Most of the temporary residents were gone and those who remained were hoping to stay. With an eye to the future, many buildings were constructed with the latest trends in mind. The resulting streetscapes resembled most early Edwardian towns in the south. Modest classical decorations and a commitment to better materials characterized this period of development in Dawson.

Following the 1899 fire, there were some calls to construct notable buildings from brick. However, this idea was quickly scrapped due to the fact that materials needed to come from the south, making the practice too costly. As a result of the realities of the climate and the sudden drop in the building boom, no calls for permanent materials, such as brick or stone, were subsequently made. Consequently, the original material character of Dawson City, evidenced through the continued use of wood as the exclusive building material, remained uniform throughout the city's subsequent development. Its northern climate, distance from other population centres and sudden population decline meant that the original "frontier character" of the landscape was maintained throughout its evolution.

Although they were unable to use more permanent materials, the re-builders of Dawson still wanted to establish a sense of stability in the territory. The relatively large public buildings were a testament to the long-term administrative plans for the area. Commercial property owners poured more money into distinguishing their buildings, even adding non-functional elements such as ornamentation. The fire swept away some of the clutter, including buildings that were

now unused as the population continued to drop. As a result, the early twentieth-century development in Dawson is characterized by planned streetscapes that resemble southern towns of the same period. Much of this Edwardian town character has also remained in Dawson, creating a contrast with the frontier wooden structures that survived the fire.

For the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, the Edwardian-style permanent buildings were a final signal that non-Indigenous people intended to remain in their ancestral territory. The buildings were larger and more decorative and permanent than the initial settlements at Fort Reliance and Forty Mile, which had been built exclusively for function. People remaining at a single site and building a town around that place was new to the geography and culture of the Yukon. It was also foreign to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in who were quickly becoming accustomed to this Western pattern of settlement.

IV. e. v. Experiences of Colonialism – Governance and Socio-Cultural – Conclusion

Many of the notable non-Indigenous structures still standing in the Tr'ondëk-Klondike serial site are related to colonial governance. Intended as permanent reminders of socio-cultural control, the headquarters of the church, police and territorial governments are still potent symbols of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experiences of colonialism. Within only a few years, these institutions had implemented sweeping changes to how Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in ancestral territory was used, while continuing to surveil Indigenous people for any signs of dissent.

V. CONCLUSIONARY COMMENTS AND FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

As a foundational piece for the ongoing development of the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination, this report addresses four key areas: the articulation of the property as a serial site, the property's ability to express the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in experiences of colonialism and the supporting evidence; and the situation of the property in its appropriate time frame and geo-cultural region necessary for the development of the comparative analysis. The ideas presented in this report are developed yet admittedly preliminary and will need to be developed further in dialogue with other reports either completed (Winton 2019) or underway (Dobrowolsky 2020), along with other consultation, in order to begin to build the core pieces of the nomination. Thus, this section acts as a form of conclusion to the report inasmuch as it seeks to capture comments provided by reviewers that are critical to the next steps in the nomination's development. As such, this section forms a repository for those comments that were not addressed in the body of the final report due to time limitations or because they fall beyond the scope of the current report. This includes comments received by John Pinkerton (Consultant), Karen Routledge (Parks Canada), Jody Beaumont (Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Government), Allie Winton (Consultant), Barb Hogan (Yukon Government) and Christian Thomas (Yukon Government). Where possible, the comments have been collated and organized thematically in order to tease out directions for future research and capture considerations that should be carried forward as development of the nomination continues.

V. a. Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Voice

Foregrounding the perspective and authority of voice of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in the nomination is imperative. The following comments speak to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in perspective and have been organized according to general themes.

Language and Naming Conventions

- I wonder if we can have some paragraphs added that tell the story from the TH perspective i.e. noting how these changes impacted social org, lifestyle, land use, travel, etc.
- Need to recognize the Denezhu-Han-TH naming convention. It is important to note that the newly forming/formed "nation-states" that YFNs are becoming are colonial in their very nature and the naming of a nation would be a foreign concept in this area prior to colonialism.
- Need to determine appropriate Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in naming usage.
- I. d. paragraph 6 – "Spokes emanating from a central node..." Is this an appropriate metaphor? Recalls the concentric circle motif, often found on TH material goods, such as Joe Henry's snow shoe tools. 1 central circle (filled in), second circle around that, and

third circle around both. Similar to a bullseye. Often found three in a row. It was thought this concentric circle concept/motif could be very useful here for visualizing the impacts of colonialism, like ripples in water moving outwards, affecting the whole. Might need some consultation with elders to see if it's appropriate to use this motif.

Relationship to Land

- Re the notion of traditional territory – Important to note that we are the current iteration of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in who are talking about traditional territory and the project area in terms of our current and evolving sense of land use/connection, social organisation and sense of nationhood – important to remember that our current boundaries and even concepts of boundaries are different than they were during the time frame of the nomination.
- Suggestion to use terms like 'The Land' for the time frame of the nomination. This could also mark another change in the TH relationship to land as the establishment of central and localized administration centres caused the shift to thinking about traditional territories centred around local towns and administrative units. This has had a lasting impact on conceptualizations of a 'nation state.'
- Re the notion of ancestral territory – *Needs to be further developed.*
- More is required on how the TH lived with the land and the responsibilities they passed on intergenerationally to care for animals, fish, and plants.
- The shift in the relationship to land is the altering of the relationship between TH people and their lands/non-human relatives. TH people would have/do have an obligation to visit their lands, particularly specific harvesting and ceremonial sites and have harvest obligations to uphold in order to keep animals and plant communities in abundance/healthy... so the incursion of newcomers and their settling at certain sites, like Tr'ochek and 40 Mile made it more difficult for TH to uphold those duties/relationships. How colonial incursions forced TH to adapt their relationships with their lands, but how they managed to keep their worldview (somewhat) intact – evidenced by continuing distant time stories, hunting and harvesting culture, etc. – *Development of this idea is strongly recommended.*

Movement on Land

- Word choice: suggestion to use mobile instead of nomadic to reinforce the longstanding presence of TH in the area.
- *Clarity is required on the seasonal rounds and how the nature of TH traditional movement on the land was impacted and/or how the TH adapted their traditional*

*movements on the land, and between sites, in response to the colonial presence during the time frame of the nomination. It is the change in this **nature** of movement on the land that the report is suggesting constitutes a TH experience of colonialism. Access to traditional sites, the nature of TH inhabitation at those sites, and the disruption to seasonal rounds that more permanent settlement implied are all ways that the nature of TH movement on the land was impacted as a result of colonialism during this time frame.*

- Clarity on the seasonal rounds will help to articulate some of the foundational and defining elements of TH culture.
- That seasonal rounds and continuous movement are so inherent to the TH identity, culture, and relationship with land and animals (being like caribou), means that altering it created a huge shift in livelihoods and worldview (ability to uphold those relationships – i.e. economic and spiritual obligations – to animals and land). That the TH altered their seasonal round so severely to accommodate and assist newcomers (additional hunting, trapping and trade activities in pre-gold rush years) and then were forced to do so by colonial forces all constitute an ‘experience of colonialism’.

Land Use

- Re contrasts in land use and economies – Expand on differing viewpoints re natural space and land use. For example, Indigenous people left harvesting areas and camps for various reasons – unsuccessful fishing/hunting or environmental conditions, but left little footprint (i.e. physical evidence) due to the nature of their lifestyle and domiciles.
- IV. d. i. paragraph 2 – “industrial capitalist viewpoint of natural spaces and their uses.” *Needs to be further developed in contrast to the TH relationship to land.*
- *The profound connection between land and culture needs to be further developed* – How differing land uses dispossessed TH from their legal system, governance, etc. – upholding the relationship with the land was to practice identity, uphold law, reciprocity, etc. – to look back and see how this dispossession led to such dark decades and generations in history ... we broke our ultimate law” by not being able to uphold our relationship with land – also using land in different ways as early as the fur trade had cascading effects on social organization, mobility, areas of use and so on and then the movement toward [*permanent settlement*] and admin centres changed the whole nature of land use and occupation.
- Understand colonialism not just through the imposition of colonial systems, but the dismantling of TH institutions. The dispossession of land basically started that process before the Indian Act even really came into force in the area. *An important point that needs further development.*

- Can we recognize the agency of TH? For example, should we be mentioning the Denezhu role in negotiating gov't to gov't with Canada re: relocation and fishery?

Economy

- TH not considered partners in economic development other than in those way that they could support the settlements through activities with traditional routes such as supplying meat (Black City) and fish through use of traditional activities. Also, labouring at wood camps was common. *Great point, we were wondering about this. Nonetheless, the Canadian state did not see the TH this way... (compared to agricultural programs in the prairies, for example).*
- IV. c. iii. paragraph 1 – “some opportunities for seasonal employment.” Probably should be mentioned elsewhere as this section is resources. *Agreed, but this concept also needs a lot more development and detail in future reports. Since this is a brief mention, it was kept here in this report but should be a much broader study in the future.*

Social Impact

- *Social impact is an important part of the story, but does not often have evidence in the property. It should be included in the narrative portions of the nomination.* Undermining of worldview and the confusion it must have brought – to witness and try to understand the arrogance must have really been something ... and then to try to maintain core cultural features like not meddling in other people’s affairs and not directly criticizing or telling someone they’re wrong must have made it easier for the colonials to impose – i.e. to stand up for yourself in any direct and outward way would be to break your own laws
- Also make note of the upheaval coming from clashing cultures, worldviews, etc. – that constant need to explain yourself – trying to make sense of other approaches to land, value, lifestyle; draw to Dawson and move to sedentary living and more; also generational traumas already impacting people – epidemics, etc. – a couple or more generations already impacted and trying to figure out and constantly adapt to new times.

Nature of the Relationship Between Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in and Newcomers

- The point was made that the nature of the relationship differed between the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in and fur traders, and the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in and miners. Given their smaller number and more intimate and sustained living arrangements (i.e. in close proximity to each other), fur traders at Fort Reliance, for example, would have been immersed in a Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in environment and thus would have had the opportunity to observe and learn from their way of life. Stampeders on the other hand, as a result of their sheer

numbers, had no close contact with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and therefore no opportunity to observe, or learn, TH ways. The nature of these two different relationships is also reflected in the degree of reliance they had on each other (or lack thereof).

- Suggestion was made not to use the concept of 'forced' for the pre-1896 period. There is little evidence of subjugation at this point. Even the schooling was somewhat voluntary. The primary purpose of the Ft Constantine, NWMPP was to protect the boundary of Confederation from Americans. Otherwise, FNs worked around the settlement, and there is even historic and archaeological evidence of engaging with prospecting, for example Keish and Kaa Goox made the big 1896 discovery at Rabbit Creek.
- Western clothing was prevalent by early 1890s (Ft Reliance photos) metal vs stone, bone or antler tools. Trade beads to cash/guns/knives?
- Re degree of integration - The first miners at Forty Mile were more integrated with FN – documented in Gates book? Dances at Forty Mile with miners and FN. As town grew, relationships changed – by 1893 – FN on Mission Island.
- IV. b. i. paragraph 3 – At sites such as Black City, we see FNs participating in the new economy by utilizing their territories and traditions. However, by the end of the period, this ends as greater ability to import goods replaces some economic opportunities for FN people.
- *Broader issue with potential understanding of 'surveillance' from a state perspective. Use of the term is meant to be in line with scholarly uses of the 'state surveillance' – that is, controlling and regulating citizens of a nation state using a variety of mechanisms. If this language is adopted the terminology needs to be explained further.*

Historical Clarification and Development

- The brief history of the Yukon section needs some reworking – we currently make more use of the concept of language group and geographical territory to define cultural groups but this is not quite accurate – TH are ancestrally connected to people associated with several language groups – common land use patterns and a general and big area of land use is more reflective of the cultural identity of TH today – i.e. subarctic land use, worldview, etc.; inhabited nomination area for all time – do we have to get caught up with the archaeology? We have older archaeological sites than 8 000 years, but I would not use archaeology to determine depth of time and connections – this is a colonial thing to do! *Excellent point and should be researched and developed further.*
- Would be striking to note that these strikes were made by FNs. Keish (Skookum Jim), Kaa Goox (Dawson Charlie), and George (American) and Kate Carmacks.

- Re Forty Mile – might need to rephrase. Population declined dramatically, but some people remained. Last resident left in early 1950s. Interesting biography of Mary McLeod on TH website\forty Mile. <http://trondekheritage.com/our-places/forty-mile/what-makes-forty-mile-special/people-and-families/> She and her husband lived at Forty Mile from ca. 1908 to 1940s? and fished and trapped. Sold fish in Eagle Alaska.
- Traditional camps were no longer available with townsite built over them. Likely had to travel further to hunt caribou?
- I find it confusing re: prospector vs miner. Prospectors looked for minerals, staked claims and often sold claims to miners - who stayed and worked the ground, while prospectors continued to move on looking for the motherlode or would go to a different area/country and look for different minerals ...and Some prospectors stayed and worked the ground. *This perhaps need more investigation in terminology.*
- Was in place with larger placer operations – people leased claims and often had 2 -5 claims together with a hired work crew. Claims weren't necessarily consolidated though. May need to run this by a mining expert.
- Miner's law at Forty Mile. Miners meetings dealt with complaints, theft, lawlessness. Decisions were passed by resolution. This occurred until NWMP arrived in 1895.
- VI. d. iii. paragraph 6 – “Shafts were dug faster and deeper.” What is the source for this info? Steam was introduced as a thawing technique on Eldorado Creek (part of goldfields) by Clarence Berry. This is the only technology that I know that would increase speed and depth of shafts? Steam engines were used to pull material up out of shafts. Horses used to move material to sluice box and remove tailings at bottom of box. Are you speaking from a global perspective? – not clear on timeframe and location. *This discussion was intended to be global/North America, so language was adapted to make that clear. These other technological developments should definitely be mentioned in future studies.*
- III. c. paragraph 3 – General comment on paragraph content - Until 1901-1908 dredges only in Klondike Valley and Bonanza Valley. Not sure if Canadian Klondyke and Yukon Gold Corp were consolidated companies? Hydraulic mining started 1909 on Bonanza. We should add two or three sentences regarding the developed supply chains in Yukon. Many Supplies imported by water and rail, as opposed to being produced locally. *Good information but don't have enough historical sources to fill this in any further at this time – should be developed in subsequent geographical studies.*
- II. paragraph 3 – “One of the first semi-permanent markers of the European/American economy.” Other trading posts were Fort Francis (south of Watson Lake on Francis lake - 1842); LaPierre House (north of Dawson on the Bell river 1846); Pelly Banks (1846); Fort

Selkirk (1848) Fort Egbert, Eagle Alaska 1889. *Good information for future historic studies on Fort Reliance context.*

- IV. c. iii. paragraph 3 – “worked in consolidated claims usually lived within Dawson.” Think they all lived at the claim – working long hours over summer months. Corporation work camps on the creeks housed workers, maintenance shops and kitchen/dining halls. If private owner of consolidated claims, workers would also stay at the claim. Travel too difficult and too long to commute from Dawson. Some likely stayed in Dawson over winter, but many left.” *Added “some” to the current phrasing, but this would be an excellent branch for further research to consider exactly where miners lived (and who lived in Dawson full time, part time, etc.)*
- IV. c. iii. paragraph 3 – “permanently altered the landscape surrounding the Yukon River for miles” Changed to “Yukon River and its environs for miles.” Land south of Dawson City – not surrounding the Yukon River. Majority of Goldfields are quite a distance from the river. And little mining on other side of river – except the Sixty Mile and Fortymile. Little mining north of Dawson City, except Coal Creek, Cliff Creek – coal and thermal generation power plant so development was spread out and impacted TH, but not at same scale as Bonanza, Hunker, Dominion, Sulphur, Quartz, Eureka creeks. And probably larger impact on the river would be sternwheelers and wood lots? *Great detail that should be added into later versions of this theme/discussion.*
- *Clarification on the exact timeline of TH movement between and settlement at sites in the nominated property is a critical piece. Also, detailed articulation of the activities at each site need to be developed in the nomination document. Clarity and further articulation of this kind will help to illuminate the nature of the interaction between the Tr’ondëk Hwëch’in, the land, and the newcomers and thus make the case for the OUV.*

Architectural Features

- IV. c. ii. paragraph 2 – “frequently-used infrastructure, such as fish drying racks.” Verify if fish racks would last over winter. Perhaps disassembled and reconstructed annually?
- IV. c. iii. paragraph 2 – general comment re cabins - Perhaps not attributable to permafrost, but because it was necessary to build a shelter quickly – logs were handy, strong, and notching corners was a simple and effective technique. Roofs were simple – with 2 roof supports (purlins) each side and a ridge pole, roofs were split logs, or lumber clad with bark or sod. It wasn’t necessary to excavate a cellar. Cabins had sill logs, notched together providing a stable foundation for the structure. This is evidenced by standing structures of more than 100 years old. Once promising ground was discovered, the next task would be to build a shelter that would withstand the winter. The early more temporary structures had dirt floors, few or no windows, and a hole in the roof for a stove pipe or if no stove pipe, a hole in the roof to let the smoke out. Logs were chinked with moss and often interiors were lined with cardboard.

- IV. c. iii. paragraph 3 – “This is especially evident in the construction of log cabins, even in semi-permanent settlement areas.” – The log cabins were successful, evidenced by the adoption of FN to use and build cabins. Perhaps other Western methods of living that weren’t successful in the north could be mentioned.
- IV. c. i. paragraph 2 – “building stock was not redeveloped on a large scale.” – Not sure how lack of building materials contributed to retention of late 19th century? Drop in population, but stable population. Dry climate and location? *This is covered in greater detail in another section (where it’s explained that the unavailability of brick and stone meant that wood buildings survived and the wood character remained even in later developments.*

V. b. Nomination Architecture

Time Frame - End Date

- A modified end date for the property is still under consideration – one that might reflect a more TH forward narrative.
- Suggestion to extend the end date - because the most insidious of colonial impacts really came with government and law and the impositions and enforcement of the Indian Act ... which of course existed between 1876 and 1907 (technically anyway), but seems to have really gone into enforcement by the time of the imposed Moosehide Council.

Articulation of OUV

- There needs to be more work on identifying and elaborating on the significance of evidence and attributes of the sites in relation to the OUV. Given John’s useful reminder re the articulation of attributes and keeping criterion (iv) in focus - proposed next step could include (using this report along with Winton 2019, and Dobrowolsky 2020):
 - o Draft chapter three - Aim to articulate OUV bearing in mind need to link property’s time frame and geo-cultural region with European colonialism writ large in order to legitimate its ability to demonstrate its relationship to a ‘significant stage in human history’.
 - o Undertake preliminary comparative analysis – develop appropriate thematic framework for comparison and undertake preliminary comparative analysis.
 - o Draft chapter two.
- *The intention of the report was to articulate experiences of colonialism as this idea pertains to the property specifically. This will provide a framework upon which additional*

layers of understanding and cultural perspective can (and should) be added. In my opinion, the nomination will require these additional layers in order to make the case for OUV compelling.

- John has articulated very well the two-fold challenge:
 - o Tell a local story that illustrates a universal phenomenon, namely Indigenous peoples' experiences with colonialism that constitutes a significant stage in human history;
 - o That these physical places, their archaeological and historical resources and their attributes convincingly illustrate this significant stage in human history.

- It will be important to ensure that appropriate attention is given to developing the argument that this colonialism was a particular North American expression of the much broader global phenomena of European colonialism, and that this colonialism constituted a "significant stage in human history," the key concept of criterion (iv).

Comparative Analysis

- Appendices B and D usefully identify sites to be acknowledged yet discounted from the comparative analysis.

- Appendix C is a starting point for further clarification of suitable sites for comparison in Canada, this list needs to be reduced and subjected to more in-depth analysis.

APPENDIX A – WORLD HERITAGE SERIAL SITE REVIEW

Methodology

In depth review and note taking of 26 different cultural serial sites and a cursory review of approximately 25 additional serial sites (cultural and natural). These sites were found using the WH List “Interactive map” with the search term “serial.” Focus was on sites nominated after 2005, as they provided a more lengthy and detailed rationale for serial sites. Of note, earlier serial sites (pre 2000) were often a “collection” of individual sites with less emphasis on the whole. Of the sites reviewed, only one didn’t use the typical language/justification for a serial site (Writing-on-Stone).

Operational Guidelines (Paragraph 137)

Serial properties will include two or more component parts related by clearly defined links:

- a) Component parts should reflect cultural, social or functional **links** over time that provide, where relevant, landscape, ecological, evolutionary or habitat **connectivity**.*
- b) **Each component part** should contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of the **property as a whole** in a substantial, scientific, **readily defined and discernible way**, and may include, inter alia, intangible attributes. The resulting Outstanding Universal Value should be easily understood and communicated.*
- c) Consistently, and in order to avoid an excessive fragmentation of component parts, the process of nomination of the property, including the selection of the component parts, should take fully into account **the overall manageability and coherence of the property** (see paragraph 114).*

*and provided **the series as a whole**—and not necessarily its individual component parts – is of Outstanding Universal Value*

Rationalizing “Links” and “Connectivity”

Potentially related to Tr’ondek-Klondike

- Some nominations largely depend on a “natural” element to connect them (Lava flows at Budj Bim; San Antonio River at San Antonio Missionaries).
- Some nominations depend almost entirely on (a) “cultural landscape” element/s to connect them (human manipulation of lava flows at Budj Bim; human interactions with landscape at Writing-on-Stone; use of San Antonio River at San Antonio Missionaries; road and infrastructure at Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; interaction between human and nature at Basari Country; landscape shaped by coal extraction at Nord-Pas; development of oasis landscape at Al Ain).

- Some nominations connect different sites through a “narrative” (the illustration of colonization and evangelization at San Antonio Missionaries and Mexico Monasteries; the story of contact and slavery at Kunta Kinteh; illustrating the story of the Kingdom of Kush; showing the processes of globalization and colonization at Ombilin; illustrating a system of production at Tomioka; testimony to intercontinental trade at Mercury mines).
- Some nominations connect different sites through a “Universal Value” (value/importance of convict history where all sites are needed to tell different parts at Convict Sites; value of architectural style of FLW where all sites show different parts of Frank Lloyd Wright’s style; value of a route at Camino Real; value of an entire system where each part contributes at Barasi Country; value of Roman influence in churches in Italy; value of “hidden Christianity” at Nagasaki; value of sedentary human occupation of a desert region at Al Ain; value of Heaven and Earth as a unique idea at Dengfeng).

Likely unrelated to Tr’ondek-Klondike

- Some nominations depend almost entirely on the same architectural style to connect them (the same architect in the Frank Lloyd Wright buildings; similar style in Mexico Monasteries and Churches of Chiloé; similar defence style structures and planner for Vauban; distinct ecclesiastical style at Malopolska).

Some nominations had an unclear/unconnected component (not clearly shown why a fifth property (a ranch geographically separate from other sites) is included with a missionary nomination at San Antonio; questionable inclusion of a Mexican mercury site (it was eventually removed); better sites identified that connect and represent ideas more clearly at Al Ain).

Inclusion and Importance of “Each Component Part”

Most nominations explained why each component part was required for the serial nomination, thereby rationalizing the need for a serial nomination rather than a single site. Here are some of the primary rationales for including multiple sites in a serial nomination (each of the three areas contain the same physical elements but connected to a different sub culture (Budj Bim); each convict site represents a different element in the system and/or settlement pattern (Convict Sites); variety of responses by the same architect to different conditions (Frank Lloyd Wright); each component adds an additional feature to the story/OUV (San Antonio); each site represents a different settlement structure of chiefdom societies (Costa Rica); four sites correspond to different stages of silk production (from farming to export) (Tomioka); four types of architectural traditions in multicultural region using similar methods for same purpose (Tservka).

Some serial nominations were questioned because the individual sites were not clearly contributing to the OUV (even if the sites were connected). The most notable instances were a comment on the excessive and overly disparate number of thematic ensembles (and individual

sites) that detracts from the value of the whole (Al Ain) and a question of individual sites not contributing directly to the OUV (even though the OUV itself is important) (Dengfeng).

Most nominations partially explained why certain sites were chosen to be part of the serial nomination. This was expanded in the comparative analysis, but also contained in the OUV in some cases. Here is a selection of some of the language/rationale used (“Eight largest” (Budj Bim); “Best surviving examples” (Convict Sites); “Best preserved relics” (Sudan); “Most exceptional illustrations” (Churches of Chiloé); represent completely the history and continuity (Nagasaki); “Individual quality, value of testimonies and participation in landscape ensembles” (Nord-Pas); “Two most important mines for mercury extraction” (Mercury); largest scale and most pioneering operation for water power (Rammelsberg); best preserved and oldest wood Gothic churches (Malopolska); outstanding examples of the once widespread Orthodox timber tradition (Tserkvas); “Exceptionally well-preserved and culturally rich” (Pile Dwellings); densest and oldest example of rock art in the region (Hail Region).

“Overall Manageability”

A wide variety of management plans were submitted with the nominations and most were relatively extensive given the complexity of serial sites (multiple ownership, trans boundary, etc.). Overall, the large majority of nominations had:

1. An “umbrella” style management plan for the entire site, such as steering committees, oversight by a national body, similar legislative protections, etc.
2. Individual management plans for each site, particularly where there was mixed ownership or trans boundary conditions. Depending on the serial property, the individual management plans each resembled plans for a single site nomination.

A few common trends were identified across multiple nominations:

- Legislative protection: like single site nominations, legislative protections were included in every nomination (the strength of protection was highlighted in the Convict Sites and Nagasaki Hidden Christian sites). If they differed between regions/nations, this was highlighted (Mercury mining).
- Challenges with multiple sites: some concerns were raised with managing multiple sites in particular. For example, the question of who administers the management plan as a whole (in the case of Italy churches) and who has jurisdiction in national contexts.
- Relationships between parties: trans boundary nominations in particular had detailed outlines of how a single plan would be implemented but sites still managed separately (Mercury mining sites). Other serial sites had a clear national strategy but individual management for day-to-day protection (Vauban). Some critiques were raised that more

coordination was necessary between different sites for long term management (Rammelsberg).

- Remoteness: identified in a few management plans, where overseeing multiple remote sites is more challenging than a single remote site (Nagasaki).
- Ownership: Generally little concern was raised over ownership, unless components were owned privately. In one case (Budj Bim) common ownership by an Indigenous group was identified as an asset to the manageability.

Elements of Comparative Analysis

The comparative analysis section was often used to justify why a serial site was needed. For some nominations, this was the primarily place where rationale for the serial site was established. Some common trends in the comparative analysis for serial sites:

- Review of previously designated sites shows the OUV for the serial nomination is already important, but the serial nomination contributes something new/different (Spanish missionaries and colonization (San Antonio); other designated stone structures globally (Costa Rica); importance of silk in global trade (Tomioka); coal mining sites (Nord-Pas); mining sites (Mercury mines); fortified properties for defence (Vauban); use of water power (Rammelsberg).
- Review of other related sites on the WH list, globally (rock art sites (Writing-on-Stone); stone structures (Costa Rica); other settlement structures (Basari Country); serial sites with architectural relationships (Italy Churches); mining sites (Ombili; Mercury mines; Rammelsberg); religious sites (Nagasaki); fortified sites (Vauban); previous nomination of wood churches (Tserkvas); early agrarian societies (Pile Dwellings).
- Review of geo-cultural sites, mostly non inscribed (rock art sites in North America (Writing-on-Stone); Jesuit missions in South America (Churches of Chiloé); European forts in Africa (Kunta Kinteh); other cultures and built structures in region (Basari); other churches in region (Italy Churches); hidden Christian villages (Nagasaki); Catholic Churches (Nagasaki); mining in SE Asia (Ombilin); coal mines in France (Nord-Pas); churches in Eastern Europe (Malopolska); rock art in Middle East (Hail Region).
- Review of thematically related sites (globally and locally), some inscribed and some not (Spanish missions globally and in North America (San Antonio); other mining sites with colonial management (Ombilin); other hidden Christian sites in Asia (Nagasaki); other transboundary sites that don't share a border (Mercury mines); other wooden Gothic churches (Malopolska); other sacred mountain sites (Dengfeng).

For serial nominations, the comparative analysis was also the space to justify why certain sites were included as part of the nomination (and often why others were excluded). Common trends from this section:

- Some nominations were commended for the thoroughness of the selection process and clearly identifying why each component was necessary to the OUV (Nagasaki; Tomioka; Italy Churches).
- ICOMOS frequently commented that the comparative analysis section didn't adequately rationalize why certain sites were selected (Convict Sites; Basari), didn't clearly show why the selection of sites reflected the OUV (Pile Dwellings), or didn't clearly show why certain sites were excluded and ICOMOS recommend others (Sudan; Mercury Mines).
- Some comparative analysis sections focused on why individual sites were selected to be part of the serial nomination when multiple examples might exist (Costa Rica, Convict Sites, Nagasaki).
- Some nominations were critiqued for comparing the individual parts of the nominations rather than the site as a whole ensemble, thereby not rationalizing the need for a serial site (Dengfeng). On the contrary, other nominations were critiqued for not comparing the features of the individual serial properties to relevant examples (San Antonio).

Quotes from ICOMOS Evaluations Related to Serial Sites:

"ICOMOS reminds that according to the par 137 of the Operational Guidelines it is the series as a whole – and not necessarily the individual parts of it – which have to demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value." (San Antonio)

"The serial approach is justified by the State Party in considering the San Antonio Missions as a group of missions with close historic and functional relations, which as a group provide evidence to the missionary live, colonization practices, evangelization strategies and processes of secularization in the San Antonio River Basin. Each mission adds additional features..." (San Antonio)

"Since no single site preserves all the different characteristics of the chiefdom settlements, the serial approach selected for this nomination assists in providing a representation of greater completeness." (Costa Rica)

"What needs to be more clearly defined is the precise way each of the nominated serial sites may be seen as attributes that contribute to conveying the significance of the route as a reflection of a period in history." (Mexico, Camino)

"Extensive serial nominations such as this one cannot in ICOMOS's view be open ended and have to be put forward on the basis of a tightly chosen selection that can be justified on the

basis of an ensemble of sufficient attributes rather than an extensive catalogue of attributes where the end is not defined. There is therefore a need for a more structured approach that clearly sets out how and why a combination of sites might reflect the distinctive significance of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and how these sites have been chosen to be exemplars of certain manifestations of the route.” (Mexico, Camino)

“ICOMOS considers that the nomination dossier has provided a logical, scientific basis for the selection of the components that make up this serial nomination, and for the selection of the nominated areas.” (Italy, Churches)

“ICOMOS considers that the nomination serial property of 12 components is able to be understood as an integrated *system*...” (Ombilin)

“The integrity of the mining, industrial and social testimony, in terms of its various dimensions, is not borne specifically or totally by any one of the 17 sites, which justifies the serial approach.” (Nord-Pas)

“In its current state, the nomination file is more of an addendum of archaeological, architectural, engineering and landscape elements of a district, at all periods, rather than a dossier built around a central, well-illustrated theme with irrefutable testimonies.” (Al Ain)

“Although undoubtedly Dengfeng has for many centuries been associated with the ideas of the centre of heaven and earth, that does not mean that everything associated with Dengfeng can be said to exhibit OUV. The concept of heaven and earth is an idea: the issue is how far the nominated sites can demonstrate an idea.” (Dengfeng)

“As a serial nomination there needs to be a link between the individual elements of the nomination.” (Dengfeng)

“For serial nomination there is a need to understand the relationship between the individual components and the overall property that manifests OUV.” (Pile Dwellings)

Key Examples of Serial Sites that Provide Further Guidance for Tr’ondëk-Klondike:

*San Antonio Missions: Similar story of colonization and evangelization, although clearly focused on colonizers (very little discussion of Indigenous presences, contact, etc.). Similar group of sites that are relatively close, connected along a waterway that was historically important. Very helpful comments regarding the individual contributions of serial sites to the whole (recognizing individual attributes while keeping a central story). Good commentary from ICOMOS.

*Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Although this is a much larger nomination focused on a route, there are some clear lessons in the evaluation, particularly around how individual sites should

contribute to the OUV. Evaluation implies that each individual site needs distinct attention, while still informing the unifying whole. Speaks to the balance required.

*Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto: Some parallels with the history of the site but mainly how it is framed. ICOMOS specifically commented that this property is to be considered a *system* (language that seems a bit unprecedented). Site is also connected to story of colonialism and industrialization – although this nomination is heavily focused on the technology rather than the human aspect. (The idea of a system is also present in Tomioka – both are technical “systems” but the language is interesting).

*Al Ain: To some extent, this is a good example of a serial site that doesn’t adequately tie the specific parts together and uses a theme that is too broad. The comparative analysis approach was also deemed insufficient and lacking in good connections.

*Dengfeng: Recognized due to its connection with an “idea” (Heaven and Earth). Considerable critique over what this looks like, particularly when the individual parts of the nomination aren’t unique on their own and don’t have OUV. Nomination was successful because the concept of Heaven and Earth was unique, not the individual sites. Needed to strongly show why these particular sites contributed to this idea. Some criteria were rejected because only a few of the sites contributed (and not the whole).

APPENDIX B – POTENTIAL COMPARATIVE SITES - WORLD HERITAGE AND TENTATIVE LISTS

A preliminary list of potentially comparable sites to Tr'ondëk-Klondike on the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists was created to assist in the creation of rationales for geo-cultural region and timeframe. The search was not exhaustive and was primarily intended to draw out WH approaches, precedence and geo-cultural/timeframe significance from existing and tentative nominations. Many additional sites (not included in the potential comparisons list) were viewed but not included in the final collection. Most of these sites fall outside the TK nomination scope or focus too heavily on a single tangential narrative.

A few key themes/lessons emerged from this review:

Reliance on Archaeological Point of View for Indigenous Sites

Sites related to Indigenous culture and settlement (particularly in the United States, Central and South America) are often from an archaeological point of view. The Indigenous cultures are treated as a “specimen” to be viewed with an emphasis on tangible historic relics. Contemporary Indigenous voices are often not included (with notable Canadian and Mexican exceptions) and Indigenous cultures are exclusively placed “in the past.” Some sites were abandoned or modified due to colonialism, but colonial arrivals are a footnote in the broader narrative (or excluded completely).

“Conquest” Narrative

Colonial encounters on the Lists are almost exclusively framed as either “conquest” or “cohabitation/blending,” particularly in Central and South America. The “conquest” narrative prioritizes the colonizing force/peoples and doesn’t include a significant Indigenous presence. In many colonial city designations, Indigenous people are erased completely. In other designations, the experiences of local populations are over-simplified (eg: they were “conquered” completely).

“Blending” and “Cohabitation” Narrative

Colonial encounters, particularly in the Caribbean, Central America and parts of Asia, are also often framed as a “blending” of the local and colonial. Multi-national or multicultural narratives dominate many nominations, where the exchange between local and outsider knowledge is framed as equitable and mutually beneficial. Many architectural nominations describe the blending of European designs and local craftsmanship that mirrors social structures. Narratives of loss, violence, dispossession, etc., are largely not included in the designations; the focus is on the creation of a harmonious whole.

Indigenous Point of View Excludes Colonialism

Some sites, particularly recent nominations in Australia, Canada and Mexico, frame the area using an Indigenous point of view. In these cases, the land and its history are told through an Indigenous lens with a priority on linking intangible elements of culture to waypoints in the landscape. However, encounters and the resulting changes from colonialism are not an overarching theme in most of these designations. The agency and continuity of cultures is emphasized in these sites, but movements and adaptations due to colonial forces are often not present (or minimized).

Violence, Disposessions and Responses to Colonialism are Minimalized

Nearly every colonial site is linked to some dispossession or violent narrative, but these themes are not present in most colonial designations. For example, “conversion to Christianity” is a common theme in Central and South American designations but there is no engagement with the violence of Christian institutions and resulting effects on local populations. Some notable sites associated with the institution of slavery in the Caribbean include a recognition of violence and enslaved peoples’ agency.

Broad Geographical Area of the “North”

There are no current WH designations in the Northern regions of North America, either in Canada or Alaska. Two sites on Canada’s tentative list are located in the Yukon. A few sites are connected with Northern peoples in Greenland and Scandinavia. “Settlement” of these Northern areas is not explored beyond the Norse period.

Economic Colonial Spaces

The colonial establishment of industries and other institutions for economic purposes is represented on the WH list and tentative lists, particularly in Central and South America and the Caribbean. Current designations are mainly focused on the impact to the land (integration with natural elements) and how people organized themselves; however, it appears there are no current designations showing the direct impact on Indigenous people and changes to their way of life. These sites should be explored more in depth, as this appears to be a very significant gap in current designations (however, some tentative list sites begin to address this theme).

Mining and Industrial Expansion

The establishment of socio-economic sites (where people both live and work in an integrated system) have precedence on the WH List. There are many mining and industrial sites showing the changes to “work” and relationships with the land that resulted from the Industrial Revolution and onwards (some into the twentieth-century). However, changes to Indigenous

populations is under-represented (currently presented at a few sites in Asia, while some South American sites should be analyzed in depth).

Migration/Movement Due to Colonialism

The rush/movement of people to industrial sites is well represented on the list, even in a colonial context. However, it is currently unclear if the effects on Indigenous populations are explored in depth. Nominations revolving around this theme should be checked in depth, as this is another large gap in current designations. In addition, movement along routes is a major thematic trend in a handful of South and Central American sites. Changes or adaptations to these routes in response to colonialism doesn't appear to be a major component of the designations.

Colonialism of Late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries Largely Unique

Colonial encounters are recognized at many sites in the geo-cultural region and beyond, but none focus entirely on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most sites related to colonialism are focused on the early period in the Americas (sixteenth-century) and the majority are related to an Iberian presence. Some colonial sites undergo changes or transformations in the nineteenth-century, but none appear to focus exclusively on the turn of the century.

Anglo Colonialism at the Turn of the Century (or the "Height" of Imperialism)

There appear to be no sites in the Americas (and likely few sites globally) that recognize the historical height of imperialism, particularly led by the British. This is somewhat a tangential relationship with TK, but characterized turn of the century imperialism that was generally more economic (rather than settlement) in nature. This particular brand of Anglo colonialism doesn't appear to be represented on the current list (tentative list in Africa and Asia not reviewed).

Spread of Western Institutions in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries Largely Unique

The spread of institutions ("church and state") in colonial areas is recognized on the current WH list, particularly in the Americas and Asia. The establishment of churches is spread to the early nineteenth-century, but not beyond. The establishment of colonial mechanisms of the state (government, law, etc.) is also represented to the early nineteenth-century. The spread of the church and state as colonial institutions around the turn of the century doesn't appear to be represented in the current list (tentative list in Africa and Asia not reviewed).

World Heritage List, Organized by Region

Canada

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	SGang Gwaay, BC	Indigenous connections with land, cultural site; NO inclusion of colonialism.
	Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, AB	Indigenous use of land and archaeological evidence; NO inclusion of colonialism in original or subsequent OUV.
X	Writing-On-Stone, AB	Serial site; nomination through Indigenous lens; archaeology that shows connections to the land.
X	Pimachiowin Aki, MB	Connection between landscape and Indigenous keepers of land (but colonialism not significant part of story) – nomination through an Indigenous lens, territory.
X	Red Bay Basque Whaling, NFLD	Economic colonization by Euros and use of land/resources for export (limited settlement) – NO Indig perspective.
	Landscape of Grand Pre, NS	Colonization of and changes to land by settlers (non Indig perspective).

United States

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Mesa Verde National Park, CO	NA Indigenous site with archaeological evidence; NO inclusion of colonialism.
	Chaco Culture, NM	NA Indigenous serial site with archaeological evidence.
	Monumental Earthworks of Poverty Point, LA	NA Indigenous use of land (group called “hunter gatherers” and almost nothing of cultural practices in nomination).
	Cahokia Mounds, IL	NA Indigenous use of land (group is nameless and almost nothing of cultural practices in nomination).
X	San Antonio Missions, TX	Missionary/colonization serial site with strong thematic relationship.

“Northern” Sites

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
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	Aasivissuit – Nipisat, Greenland	Cultural landscape with continuous land use and includes colonial period (with some impact).
X	Kujatta Greenland, Greenland	(serial?) site with joint cultural landscape of Norse and Inuit; changes and use of land central theme; colonization of different period.
	Laponian Area, Sweden	Ancestral way of life connected to land.

Central America/Caribbean*

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
X	Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, MX	Serial site with pieces of trading route (colonial period); links between Spanish and Indig cultures; colonialism/exchange key.
X	Agave Landscape and Facilities, MX	Serial site with industrial landscape resulting from colonialism combined with Indig culture; colonization and shaping of land.
X	Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines, MX	Mining colonization (different period) with emergence of town; no integration of Indig.
	Protective town of San Miguel, MX	Town with institutions (colonialism); no integration of Indig lens.
	Franciscan Missions in the Sierra Gorda of Queretaro, MX	Serial site showing “Conversion to Christianity” from colonial architectural lens.
	Earliest 16 th -Century Monasteries, MX	Serial site for missionaries who converted Indigenous population in early 16 th C.
	Historic Centre of Puebla, MX	Fusion of Euro and American styles in creation of new city; primarily colonial perspective.
X	Aqueduct of Padre Tembleque, MX	Colonial industrial project created with assistance of Indig population (16 th C).
	Historic Centre of Oaxaca and Monte Alban, MX	16 th century colonial settlement mixed with Indig archaeological site (separation of the two, little contact/colonial lens).
	Historic Fortified Town of Campeche, MX	Spanish colonial town key role in “conquest” of Indig peoples (minimal Indig info).
	Ruins of Leon Viejo, Nicaragua	“one of the oldest Spanish colonial settlements in the Americas” but no Indig perspective.
	Archaeological Site of Panama Viejo, Panama	“oldest Euro settlement on Pacific coast” with archaeological site related to Indig occupation of same land; no Indig lens.
	Trinidad and the Valley de los Ingenios, Cuba	Important for “conquest” of the American continent but also built for colonial economy (sugar); no Indig perspective.

	Historic Town of St George and Related Fortifications, Bermuda	Earliest English urban settlement in New World; strong connection with colonialism.
X	Archaeological landscape of first coffee plantations, Cuba	Colonial coffee production (19 th and 20 th C) w infrastructure; no Indig perspective but is an economic colonial landscape.
X	Blue and John Crow Mountains (cultural and natural), Jamaica	Response by Indig (and later former enslaved people) to colonialism (natural system of hiding and resistance).
	Colonial City of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic	City of “firsts” in the New World (very Euro centric view); no Indig perspective (although termed city of encounters).

*Didn't include pre-colonial sites that don't intersect with colonial period; also didn't include many colonial city or fortification designations that didn't have another relationship with TK; some other sites uniquely use a slavery lens/narrative (Antigua Naval Dockyard, National History Park (Sans Souci), Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park)

South America*

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox, Colombia	Critical role in colonization (penetration and dominion during Spanish conquest); no Indig lens.
	Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia, Colombia	19 th C economic settlement; nomination claims fusion of Spanish and Indig but no Indig lens.
	Qhapaq Ñan Andean Road System, transnational	Communication network for Indig then colonized; mainly Indig lens but little recognition of colonialism.
	Historic Centre of Santa Ana de los Rios de Cuenca, Ecuador	Colonial city that was a “melting pot” of various cultures; Indig perspective not taken.
	Historical Centre of the City of Arequipa, Peru	Combination of native traditions and Euro designs (in architecture); no Indig perspective but recognition of native “response”.
	Humberstone and Santa Laura Saltpeter Works, Chile	Industrial heritage of late 19 th early 20 th C; adaptation to land but no Indig perspective.
X	Quebrada de Humahuaca, Argentina	Cultural and trading route that predates colonialism, intersects with it and is direct response to it; strong connect with natural.
	Jesuit Block and Estancias of Cordoba, Argentina	Missionary collection linked with colonialism; inclusion but no lens for Indig.
	Sewell Mining Town, Chile	Economic colonial site for mining (settled but then abandoned); no Indig lens.
	Churches of Chiloé, Chile	Evangelizing serial site; link between Indig building and Euro design; colonialism.

	Fray Bentos Industrial Landscape, Uruguay	Factory town established for global trade (economic colonialism) in late 19 th C; no Indig lens.
	Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis, Brazil and Argentina	Evangelizing of Indig people/lands; no Indig lens (barely any mention).
	Paraty and Ilha Grande (cultural and natural), Brazil	Natural-cultural landscape speaks to Indig and colonial but as separate (no Indig perspective on colonialism in region).
	Historic Town of Ouro Preto, Brazil	Town directly related to Brazil's golden age (18 th C) and Gold Rush; no Indig lens.
	Jesuit Missions of La Santissima Trinidad de Parana and Jesus de Tavarangue, Paraguay	Evangelization experience through Jesuit lens; indications of "unique" brand of colonialism in this region at this time.
	Historic Centre of the Town of Diamantina, Brazil	Establishment of 18 th C town due to the diamond prospectors; adaptation of culture but no Indig lens.
	Historic Centre of the Town of Goias, Brazil	Mining town est. in 18 th and 19 th C with unique town layout; part of economic colonialism but Indig lens not present.

Other Colonial Contexts:

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Levuka Historical Port Town, Fiji	Late colonial town with strong Indig influences; told through a "blending" lens; colonialism with mainly economic interest.
X	Budj Bim Cultural Landscape, Australia	Uses an Indig lens to make connections between people and lands; no direct relationship to colonialism.
	Australian Convict Sites, Australia	Serial site directly related to colonialism and settlement; no Indig lens.
X	Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto, Indonesia	Serial site related to coal mining (by colonial force) with some Indig perspective.
	Baroque Churches of the Philippines, Philippines	Baroque churches from Spanish period built by locals using local techniques; adaptation to colonialism.
	Historic City of Vigan, Philippines	Planned Spanish colonial town; reflects blending of cultural elements; not explicit Indig perspective.
	Kulangsu, International Settlement, China	Island as window of cultural and economic exchanges with the world; fusion of various architectures/influences.
	Historic Centre of Macao, China	Site of international trade (and colonialism); lens of "encounters" and meeting point.

	Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications, Sri Lanka	Fortified Euro colonial city; “blending” lens (architectural).
	Churches and Convents of Goa, India	Evangelization of Asia; no Indig lens.
	Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, India	Blending of architectural styles; transplant of colony but local perspective (architectural).
	Fort Jesus, Mombasa, Kenya	16 th C fortification to control economic interests in Indian Ocean; “interchange” of cultural values (multiple) to gain control.
	San Cristobal de La Laguna, Spain (Canary Islands)	“experiment” for American colonization; “blending” of cultures perspective; no Indig lens.
	Cidade Velha, Ribeira Grande, Cabo Verde	First Euro settlement in tropics; gateway to colonialism in Americas; new Creole culture.

Other Thematic Global**:

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Tomioka Silk Mill, Japan	Industrial heritage; serial site established for global trade/boom in demand; emphasis on local perspective but response to global.
	Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine, Japan	Industrial heritage; mines but also the changes and routes through landscape.
	Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution, Japan	Industrial heritage of late 19 th C where West tech was transferred to non-West context (and adaptations to traditions).
	Historic Monuments of Dengfeng in The Centre of Heaven and Earth, China	Commemoration of an “idea” (Heaven and Earth) shown in serial site in landscape.
	Island of Goree, Senegal	Major slave trading centre; themes of violence and unequal cultural exchange.
	Kunta Kinteh Island, Gambia	Major slave trading centre; themes of violence and unequal cultural exchange.
X?	Historic Town of Grand-Bassam, Cote d’Ivoire	Late 19 th early 20 th C colonial planned town; relationships between Euro and Africa; some Indig lens (separate).
	Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, UK	Industrial heritage; 18 th and 19 th C mining landscape (copper); world view of impact (on mining industry); focus on land.
	Blaenavon Industrial Landscape, UK	Industrial heritage; nineteenth-century mining (iron and coal); industrial tech and social aspect.

	Derwent Valley Mills, UK	Industrial heritage; 18 th and 19 th C cotton mill and landscape; technology, economic and social aspect.
	Rjukan-Notodden Industrial Heritage, Norway	Industrial heritage; growth of early 20 th C industry; focus on natural landscape.
	Major Mining Sites of Wallonia, Belgium	19 th and 20 th C Industrial heritage (coal mine); integration of technology and social aspects.
	Nord-Pas de Calais Mining Basin, France	Serial industrial heritage site (coal); technology but large emphasis on community (model city).
	Mines of Rammelsberg, Upper Harz Water, etc., Germany	Serial industrial heritage site (water power); technology but emphasis on natural and social landscapes.
	Erzgebirge/Krusnohori Mining Region, Germany and Czech	Serial industrial heritage site (ore); intersections of technology and socio-economic conditions; use of environment.

**There are additional mining/industrial heritage sites in Europe – most have similar themes but different types of mining, timeframes, focuses, etc.

Tentative Lists, Organized by Region

Canada

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Stein Valley, BC	Indigenous cultural landscape; routes and connections with land; no mention of colonialism.
	Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Saskatchewan	Captures idea of Indigenous “territory”; link with natural landscape; no mention of colonialism but is continuity.
	Yukon Ice Patches, Yukon	Archaeological comparisons; geographic relationship.
	Gwaii Haanas, BC	Indigenous cultural landscape, strong focus on natural elements; archaeological comparisons.
	Ivvavik/Vuntut/Herschel Island, Yukon	Geographical relationship; connection with land (focus).

United States

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparisons
	Serpent Mound, OH	Indigenous landscape with cultural practices; no colonialism; archaeological focus.

	Hopewell Ceremonial Earthworks, OH	Indigenous landscape with cultural practices; no colonialism; archaeological focus.
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Central America

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
	Franciscan Ensemble of the Monastery and Cathedral, etc., MX	Establishment of Missionary and settlement for Indigenous conversion; recognized Indig presence but very limited.
	Historic Town of San Sebastian del Oeste, MX	Gold/Silver mining town; interaction with natural land emphasized; no mention of colonialism.
X	Historical city of Izamal, MX	Continuity of city pre colonialism and changes post colonialism; premise of designation is continuity with changes.
	Historical Town of the Royal of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, MX	Colonial city with mining activities; recognition of "conquest" but unclear Indig perspective (if any).
X	Huichol Route through the sacred sites, MX	Pre-colonial routes to maintain ancestral traditions; routes from an Indig perspective and connection to land; no colonialism.
X	Tecoaque, MX	Continuity of city pre colonialism and changes post colonialism; archaeology; colonial violence.
	Industrial Heritage of Barbados, Barbados	Changes to landscape from colonial economy; economic/industrial.
	Primeros Ingenios Coloniales Azucareros de America, Dominican Republic	Industrial and colonial heritage (sugar mill); historical, cultural, social and economic impacts of sugar.
X	Seville Heritage Park, Jamaica	Colonial encounter and existence of multiple cultures; social and economic aspects; nuanced colonial lens.
	Colonial Transisthmian Route of Panama, Panama	Colonial route of human and cultural exchange; no pre-colonial mention.

APPENDIX C – POTENTIAL COMPARATIVE SITES - CANADA

Pre-Contact Indigenous Sites

These sites are usually archaeological, rock paintings or stone arrangements. Some time they are natural features imbued with spiritual or cultural significance.

Longstanding Occupation, Use or Presence

Indigenous sites indicate long-standing presence on the land sometimes with evidence of European trade goods, but nature of relationship with Europeans (if any) or effect of this relationship on Indigenous people post-contact is completely absent.

Colonial sites with previous Indigenous occupation

Mention of Indigenous occupation of site pre-contact, then significance of the site attributed to colonial layers, but no connection made between the two.

Attacks on Indigenous People and 1885 Rebellion

There are a cluster of sites focussed on the 1885 Rebellion. These speak to direct conflict as a result of the colonial encounter. They are never told from the perspective of Indigenous people, but can describe the effect of the encounter – i.e. death, displacement, containment.

Indigenous People and Various Colonial Institutions:

- participation in colonial battles
- explorers
- missionaries
- police
- trading companies

These sites are usually focussed around one evidentiary element i.e. a church, a trading post, a mountain pass. The identification of the associated FN is usually provided, but no developed discussion on the effects of these encounters from the FN perspective. They do serve to indicate contact, but do not represent shifts in traditional land use or relationship to land over time.

Reliance on Indigenous Knowledge

Sites, such as passes, show colonial reliance on FN knowledge. Also, use of existing gathering or settlement sites, use of existing trade networks, reliance on meat, fish to survive, etc.

Comments: Sites may have one feature or element of the TK story (or are comparable with one of the sites i.e. Moosehide OR Tr’ochëk OR Forty Mile), but not the combination of multiple experiences of colonialism at a series of sites in a single property as is found at TK.

Possible Comparisons of Canadian Designated Sites – Search of Historic Places Register

British Columbia

X	Kiix’in Village and Fortress, BC, NHS	Longstanding occupation; strong evidence standing architecture, archaeology, archival records, oral histories; traditional practices and changing political and economic patterns in 18 th /19 th C; no explanation why or how.
	Kootenae House, BC, NHS	1807 Trading relationship with NWCo. and Ktunaxa; abandoned 1812 because of hostility with Peigans; archaeological remains house, campsites.
X	Kitselas Canyon, BC, NHS	Ancient use site; 19 th C fortified Tsimshian villages controlling trade with HBC; evidence of social change; relationship with coastal people, trade networks and change in settlement patterns; no explanation why or how.
	Fort McLeod, BC, PHS	FN and Euro-Canadian co-existed on a permanent basis; evidence of fur trade and Tsek’ehne since 1805.
	Metlakatla Pass, BC, NHS	Ancestral wintering site; pre and post contact village sites; 1862-1887 mixed missionary community.
	Simon Gunanoot Gravesite, BC	FN interaction with the law 1906; traditional living and survival.
	Fort St. James, BC, NHS	Trade and cooperation with FN.
X	Yuquot, BC, NHS	Mowachaht/Muchalaht FN ancestral home; site of Nuuchahnulth whaling; European explorers and fur traders late 18 th C; Spain’s northernmost garrison; strong evidence, weak narrative from Indigenous perspective.

Alberta

X	Frog Lake, Alberta, NHS	1885 conflict between Plains Cree and government; resistance to reserve settlement.
	Athabasca Pass, Alberta, NHS	1811-1850 surveyor and explorer Thompson with FN Guide charts new pass to secure fur trade route.
X	Victoria District, Alberta, NHS	Settlement at Cree/Stony FN migration routes; Methodist mission 1863; Metis and Ukrainian, British, Canadian, American settlers as of 1865; no understanding of impact on FN; archeological, built evidence.
	Howse Pass, Alberta, NHS	Used by Ktunaxa FN from 18 th C onward; also used by fur traders until 1810.
	Fort De L'Isle, Alberta, PHS	Represents rule of law in trading disputes; no discussion of impact.
	Blackfoot Crossing, Alberta, NHS	Ancient gathering site; site of signing of treaty no. 7 in 1877; Oblate mission, trading post, Indian agency post; evidence of ongoing interaction (unclear).

Saskatchewan

	Cypress Hills, Saskatchewan, NHS	1873 massacre; Americans attack Nakoda; evidence of law enforcement in Western Canada; trading post and archaeology.
	Fish Creek, Saskatchewan	1885 battle Metis/Cree vs. Dakota/NW Field Force.
	Battle of Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, NHS	1885 battle between NWMP, Metis/Cree.

Manitoba

	Wanipigow Lake, Manitoba, PHS	Longstanding Indigenous habitation; shows shifts in type of resource and nomadic to sedentary, but no explanation why.
	St. Peter, Manitoba	Evidence of early Aboriginal/European relations; FN agricultural community and Anglican mission.

Ontario

	Pic River, Ontario, NHS	Indigenous occupation thousands of years; early contact late 18 th C; 1780s fur trade
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		post/1799 NW Co/1821 HBC; relocation of Ojibway (4 archaeology nodes); no assessment of impact from Indigenous perspective.
X	Beausoleil Island, Ont, NHS	Anishinaabeg CL; traces history pre and post contact; re-settlement sites; evidence of village, church, schoolhouse and cemetery.
	Ossossane Sites, Ontario, NHS	17 th C Huron-Wendat site; evidence of Jesuit and French missionaries.
	Fort St. Joseph, Ontario, NHS	Commercial and military alliance between FN and British following American Revolutionary war and 1812; evidence of entwined military, domestic, commercial life.
	Fort Sainte Marie II, Ontario, NHS	1649-51 Jesuit missionary for Huron-Wendat; fled here to re-locate to Wendake, QC after threat by Iroquois; comparable with Moosehide?

Quebec

	Blanc Sabon, Quebec, NHS	Longstanding use and occupation of land; mentions first-contact, but no evidence.
	Apitipik, Quebec, NHS	Sacred place for Algonquin; 17 th C trading posts.
	Ile aux Basques, Quebec	Contact site with Basque whalers 1584-1637; Aboriginal/French/Euro-Canadian artifacts; evidence Aboriginal encampments and Jesuit mission; much earlier timeframe.

New Brunswick

	Fort La Tour, New Brunswick, NHS	Traditional Indigenous site, archaeological evidence; 1631 fortified fur trading post; trading relationship with FN; no discussion of impact.
	St. Anne, New Brunswick	1842 chapel built by Mi'kmaq; relationship between Acadians, Catholic church, FN.
	Former Mi'kmaq reserve at Beaumont, New Brunswick	Negotiation of reserve land similar to Moosehide.
X	Meductic Indian Village, New Brunswick, NHS	Pre 17 th C Maliseet settlement abandoned in 1760 after arrival of Jesuit and French - displacement; used sporadically by FN until 1841.

Nova Scotia

	Kejimikujik, Nova Scotia, NHS	Mi'kmaq cultural landscape; longstanding occupancy; pre-contact village and resource camps overlain with post-contact evidence; twelve 19 th C reserves.
X	Chapel Island, Nova Scotia, NHS	Gathering, governance and spiritual site, 18 th C French RC mission; annual pilgrimage and meetings of grand council of Mi'kmaq; comparable to Moosehide?

NWT

	Teetshik Goghaa (Old Arctic Red), NWT, THS	Introduction of church to traditional territory of Gwichya Gwich'in; remains of church.
	Kittigazuit Archaeological Site, NWT, NHS	Continuous occupation; beluga whaling site; member of Franklin expedition first met Inuit.
X	Deline Fishery, NWT, NHS	Franklin overwinters here 1825-1827; Indigenous trade meat and fur/act as guides.
	Nagwichoonjik, NWT, NHS	Significance of site for Gwich'in, but no developed discussion re impact of contact.
	Ehdaa, NWT, NHS	Ancient Dene ceremonial site; continued use during fur trade, signing of Treaty 11 in 1921 and Pope's visit in 1987.
X	Nataiinlaih, NWT, THS	Ancient camp; tells story of impact of trading post on relations between Gwich'in and Inuvialuit; still in use today; archaeological evidence.

Nunavut

XX	Kekerten Island Whaling Station, Nunavut, NHS	Whaling and vessel wintering site; operated by Americans and Scots 1860-1880; ship wintering drew Aboriginals from the surrounding area; Inuit adapted to rhythm of whaler's year; represents impact of whaling industry on economy and culture of Inuit; abandoned 1923.
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Search terms: Indigenous, Aboriginal, First Nation, Colonialism, Colonial. Only sites with any evidence or mention of post-contact have been included.

APPENDIX D – GOLD RUSH SITES - NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORTH AMERICA

Nineteenth-century Gold Rush Sites in North America

The Tr’ondëk-Klondike nomination is closely related to many nineteenth-century gold mining sites throughout North America. The mass movement of people from one mining strike to the next and the conditions faced by inhabitants directly influenced the settlements that sprang up. The economic/cultural dynamics of each gold rush and the geographical conditions of the sites also shaped the relationships newcomers forged with Indigenous peoples. As a result, many comparisons can be drawn between different gold rush sites while simultaneously recognizing the uniqueness of each event and how that’s captured in the site. For many gold rush events, very few remnants are still present at the original sites; many places are either “ghost towns” or have been vastly redeveloped in subsequent years.

The following chart identifies the key gold rush sites across the western half of North America that drew large crowds of stampeders in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The list is not exhaustive but does demonstrate the great diversity of sites and the corresponding remnants of the rush period. Only North American sites are included in this chart (as they directly correspond to the geo-cultural region of the Tr’ondëk-Klondike nomination), but many Australian and South American sites could be included in a more expansive comparative framework.

Nineteenth-century Gold Rush Sites in North America, Organized Chronologically

Key?	Site Name, Location	Potential Comparison
X	California Gold Rush, CA, 1848-55	First major rush in NA, considered beginning of Gold Rush period; mass migration; considered to be a “lawless” society; most original rush towns have been redeveloped.
X	Queen Charlotte Gold Rush, BC, 1850	Haida found original gold and encouraged to participate in rush but later resisted colonial controls; Haida resistance ended “rush”; no remnants at rush sites.
	Kern River Gold Rush, CA, 1853-58	Major transportation networks were developed in response to gold strike (first major operation); few remnants.
X	Idaho Gold Rushes (Colville, 1855; Clearwater, 1860; Boise Basin, 1862)	Idaho was named a territory (1863) due to gold findings, very similar to Yukon (sought to avoid CA lawless situation); Boise Basin site rebuilt and reconstructed multiple times and integrity at other sites is relatively low.

	Gila Placers Rush, AZ, 1858-59	Thriving town but all traces are gone now; typical gold “rush” story.
X	Fraser Canyon Gold Rush, BC, 1858-61	One of the biggest in Canada to this point with lots of diverse migrants (mainly American); huge disruption of local Indigenous people who resisted increased migration; primary reason why BC is founded as a colony; some remnants but generally low site integrity.
X	Rock Creek Gold Rush, BC, 1859-1860s	Significant government intervention to control American influence and ensure colonial govt retained control of area (Indig people too).
	Pike’s Peak Gold Rush, CO, 1859	Typical rush town but very little/nothing remains today.
	Holcomb Valley Gold Rush, CA, 1860-61	Typical rush town but very little/nothing remains today.
	Eldorado Canyon Rush, NV, 1861	Typical rush town but most that remains is either reconstructed or only partially intact.
	Colorado River Gold Rush, AZ, 1862-64	Very little/nothing remains today.
X	Cariboo Gold Rush, BC, 1862-65	More British/Canadian migrants compared to Fraser River (govt attempted to control rush); Barkerville and Yale resulted from this rush (two key mining towns – Barkerville largely reconstructed but important).
X	Montana Gold Rushes (Helena and Confederate, 1862-64; Others 1864-1869)	Primary origin of the “frontier myth” (in pop culture) in US; US govt saw need to remove Indigenous people who were met with very violent interventions.
	Stikine Gold Rush, BC, 1863	Gold Rush expanded boundaries of BC for more govt control.
	Owyhee Gold Rush, OR/ID, 1863	Major gold rush town (Silver City) largely abandoned in 1890s and now relatively intact ghost town.
X	Owens Valley Rush, CA, 1863-64	Major relocation of Indigenous people (commonly called Owens Valley Indian War).
	Leech River, BC, 1864-65	Very few remaining elements of rush site.
X	Big Bend Gold Rush, BC, 1865-66	The remoteness of the site made migration to rush very challenging (before advent of communication and transportation technology).
	Omineca Gold Rush, BC, 1865-66	Placer mining at first until 1890s when corporate consolidation began; shows transition in mining practice.

	Wild Horse Creek Gold Rush, BC, 1860s	Direct offshoot of Fraser River and mainly Americans (seen as “lawless”); currently a ghost town with few remnants.
	Eastern Oregon Gold Rush, 1860s-1870s	Includes the thriving town of Sumpter; rush was very slow to develop; considered a near ghost town.
	Cassiar Gold Rush, BC, 1871	Sparked government interest in frontiers of BC; most miners from this rush went to Klondike.
X	Black Hills Gold Rush, ND/WY, 1874-78	Significant violence and displacement of Indigenous people; it was believed that Indigenous people couldn’t be on or near mining land (as they would interfere).
X	Bodie Gold Rush, CA, 1876	Typical thriving mining town but abandoned after rush; largely untouched after abandonment due to climate and remoteness; now a National Historic Landmark (1861) and some things were reconstructed but most originals intact.
	Cayoosh Gold Rush, BC, 1884-87	Offshoot of Fraser River rush, not many things remain at the site.
	Cripple Creek Gold Rush, CO, 1891	Continuation of the Colorado rush; important to development of state but little remains of original (ongoing mining).
	Mount Baker Gold Rush, WA, 1897-1920s	Small rush that was consolidated quickly.
	Atlin Gold Rush, BC, 1898	Offshoot of Klondike (people trying to supply themselves for Klondike); invention of technologies increased interest in area (gold had been found decades earlier).
X	Nome Gold Rush, AK, 1899-1909	Many Klondike prospectors went here; deliberate exclusion of Natives (and foreigners) from mining through govt policy; town is still inhabited but development has mainly replaced rush buildings.
	Fairview Gold Rush, BC, 1890s	Small rush with few remaining remnants today.
	Fairbanks Gold Rush, 1902-05	Fairbanks created out of gold rush; called the “last American gold rush”.
	Goldfield Gold Rush, NV, 1902	Signaled a major change to consolidated claims and corporate mining.
?	Porcupine Gold Rush, ON, 1909-11	Largely a rush for well-paying mining jobs rather than a rush for individual claims; major

		fire in 1911 destroyed rush era structures and most new structures were planned.
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APPENDIX E – REVIEW OF WORLD HERITAGE PUBLICATIONS

Methodology

ICOMOS publications, including thematic studies, regional studies, committee reports, and other proceedings were reviewed. Anything potentially relevant within the geo-cultural region, timeframe or thematic area were to be identified. As ICOMOS publications are not listed in a single place, this review was fragmented but still thorough. *No relevant publications were found during this review. However, some areas for further research or future consideration were identified.*

Proceedings of international and national conventions, meetings, proceedings, conferences and councils were NOT reviewed, as these are generally not indexed or searchable. A thorough review of these documents (particularly meetings discussing relevant subjects) may yield papers and presentations related to TK themes.

List of “Thematic Studies for the World Heritage Convention”

None of the thematic studies are potentially relevant for the Tr’ondëk-Klondike nomination. There are no studies related to Indigenous perspectives, industrial heritage, or colonialism.

Regional Studies

None of the regional studies are potentially relevant for the Tr’ondëk-Klondike nomination. There are no published ICOMOS materials on Indigenous perspectives, industrial heritage, colonialism or other heritage matters in Canada or North America. Other similar colonial context (such as Australia) have no relevant regional publications.

ICOMOS Canada

No publications from ICOMOS Canada are directly relevant to the nomination. Newsletters, conference proceedings, workshops, etc., were not reviewed (some recent conferences or proceedings may feature relevant papers/presentations).

Other ICOMOS Publications

Historical ICOMOS Publications (pre 2000) were also reviewed on fragmented lists available on the Internet. No relevant historical publications were found.

International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage

No publications from this committee are directly relevant to the nomination; however, the committee charters and scope of this group affirms the importance of industrial heritage.

ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes

Prepared by the International Scientific Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC), this charter was ratified in 2008 (Quebec). The work of this committee is somewhat related to the Tr'ondëk-Klondike nomination and the ratification document may provide some justification for the nomination; however, no relevant publications have been produced.

International Scientific Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management

Some materials and publications produced by the committee could assist in the management strategy and plan for the archaeological elements of the nomination. However, these are strictly management related and have no further thematic comparisons.

Working Group on Indigenous Heritage

Resolution on the importance of Indigenous heritage, ratified in 2017. No publications or reports available at this time.